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CONTENTS

STORY OF THE FARNHAM MEETING ..... S. A. ZIELINSKI 67

QUAKER "CHARITY" BEFORE THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION ..... SYDNEY V. JAMES 82

NOTES AND DOCUMENTS—

Quakers in "Bleeding Kansas" ..... CECIL CURREY 96

The Revival Movement in Iowa ..... HOWARD H. BRINTON 102

HISTORICAL NEWS 111

BOOK REVIEWS—

Christian Faith and Practice in the Experience of the Society of Friends .... HOWARD H. BRINTON 112

Jones, *The Standard of the Lord Lifted Up* ALEXANDER C. PURDY 113

Levy, *Early Puritanism in the Southern and Island Colonies* HENRY J. CADBURY 114

Hunt, *Two Early Political Associations* ..... JOHN FORBES 115

Sherrard, *Freedom from Fear*

Danforth, *A Quaker Pioneer* ..... LARRY GARA 116

Gara, *The Liberty Line* ..... THOMAS E. DRAKE 117

Fowler, *Two Trends in Modern Quaker Thought*

Brinton, *How They Became Friends* ..... THOMAS BASSETT 120

BRIEFER NOTICES ..... HENRY J. CADBURY 121

ARTICLES IN QUAKER PERIODICALS ..... LYMAN W. RILEY 128

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STORY OF THE FARNHAM MEETING

By S. A. ZIELINSKI*

The history of the Farnham Meeting is unique in some respects. It was the only Quaker meeting in Lower Canada in the nineteenth century. It was isolated from other Canadian meetings by a distance of some four hundred miles. It started in a wilderness, and it lasted for nearly a century: much longer than all meetings in Vermont. It covered an exceptionally large territory, and at the peak of its development it counted more than 100 members. All families with membership in the meeting came from New England, and many of them were already interrelated when they came to Canada.

The name "Farnham Meeting" comes from East Farnham Township, and not from the town of Farnham, Quebec. The village where most of the members of the meeting lived was called

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Allen's Corner, only much later changed to East Farnham. The Township of East Farnham belongs to Brome County, and this in turn to an area called "The Eastern Townships," now in the Province of Quebec. One remarkable fact distinguishes this area from the rest of the Province: it was colonized exclusively by English-speaking settlers.

The western part of the Eastern Townships, or the territory which is of interest to us, covers roughly some 1500 square miles. It lies directly north of the Vermont border.

In 1800 all this area was as wild as when it was left by the last glacial epoch. Abenaqui Indians "inhabited" it in a manner of speaking, but the density of population was about the same as in the Sahara desert, and thanks to Robert Rogers's expedition of 1759, it was actually lower than in times of Cartier. The country was covered by forest and swamps. Lakes there were few by Canadian standards, and the only open spaces were small "beaver meadows." When beavers build dams and make artificial shallow lakes, they also kill all the trees in the flooded area. When a beaver settlement is abandoned, and the dam destroyed by natural or other causes, the lake becomes a meadow. These beaver meadows were the only source of hay for the first settlers, who soon discovered the origin of the meadows, and by destroying beaver dams were able to increase the hay-producing area.

The woods were at first of little value to the settler except for fuel and building materials. There was no question of marketing lumber, or any of the by-products with the single exception of potash. The production of "black salts" (raw wood ashes) was comparatively easy and helped clearing the land. As soon as the first traders were established in the wilderness, they built "asheries" or refineries of black salts, which then could be shipped to the market at a better price.

There were plenty of wild animals, but only a few dangerous to human beings. Bears, wolves, mountain lions attacked livestock, and were a real nuisance, and so to a lesser degree were lynxes, foxes, wolverines, raccoons. On the other hand, moose, caribou, and deer must have been rather welcome as food. But it seems that the worst enemy of both men and cattle was a fly called "moose fly," possibly the same as our deer fly. All in all, the woods must have been quite lively around 1800.

The first step a settler had to take to get the land was to find "associates" and form a company with a leader, or "agent," who would enter into negotiations with the government for a grant of land. The grants usually (but not always) went by a whole township, or about 100 square miles. The associates were required to prove their loyalty to the Crown and give reasons for their wanting a grant. The usual reasons were: their "loyalty" during Rebellion, persecution by the rebels, and loss of property. This is why they were called "loyalists." In practice, however, nearly anybody could get by, and there were cases of families who fought in the War of Independence on the "wrong" side who still got their grants in the Eastern Townships.

Theoretically each settler was required by law to clear so much land per year (2% after 3 years, 7% after 7 years) and keep it under cultivation, but hardly anybody complied with this condition. When the land was granted, the settlers could get possession of their lots. This meant at least two or three very long and difficult trips. First, the head of the family would go alone or with other associates to have a look at the property. The next time, he would take his family, personal belongings, tools, and some livestock; also supplies for the whole household and cattle for a year or so. On the last trip he would take all he had, or all he could buy. Each trip could take up to twenty days (one way) from the end of the last road in New England.

There was no question of traveling in wagons, because there were no roads of any kind — only so-called "spotted lines" (blazed trails). These could be negotiated only by oxen pulling a sled. The speed of travel was about ten miles a day, and the speed of blazing not more than two miles a day. Children and weaker womenfolk were on the sleds, and the rest of the family were walking, cutting brush on the trail, building improvised bridges, looking for fords, preparing shelters for the night, and hunting. Quite a lot of travel was done in winter; the trails were smoother, rivers could be crossed on ice, and there were no flies. In any case, there was no particular reason to reach the destination in summer, since there was no food for the livestock, and a shelter could be built as well or even better in winter. Fortunately, heating was no problem: the whole countryside could be used as fuel.

The first journey of exploration was the easiest. One could

travel on horseback in summer, when there was always enough grass for one animal in the beaver meadows. But the second expedition was crucial. It required perfect timing so that the supplies brought by the settler would last until the first produce could be gathered from the new land. Only the minimum of supplies could be taken, and yet nothing essential should be forgotten. The nearest place where anything at all was to be bought could be twenty days away, and since each settler was in exactly the same situation, one could not count on borrowing things from neighbors.

Upon reaching the homestead, the settler had to build a shelter. This was usually a very small log cabin with a roof of hemlock bark. There could be an open fire inside but no chimney, or the fire was built outside in front of the door. Another shelter had to be constructed for the livestock to protect it from cold in winter, from the flies in summer, and from prowling animals all year around.

The shelters had no floor; stakes were driven into the ground, and they supported tables, beds, and benches. These pieces of furniture were known as "catamounts" (another name for mountain lion). There were no boards or planks, unless the settler could afford to bring them from the civilized world. How poor were these households we can hardly imagine: a tea kettle was considered to be a luxury. But we can imagine how hard was the life in these primitive shelters if we remember that the yearly snowfall in this part of Quebec reaches nine feet, and that the temperature may drop at night to 50° below zero.

There were exceptions, of course. One of the richest leaders, who came from England, could afford to have his house built by his associates before he arrived with his family. The house had real floors of half-logs split by hand, and real windows with glass panes brought at a tremendous expense from Montreal. Still, the lumber was green, so that walls and floors were full of chinks, and the rooms rather drafty.

The first change for the better came when the crops were gathered. When their amount surpassed the immediate needs, the settler made his third trip to bring more cattle and the rest of his property, if he owned anything. Then a real house and barn were built. The house was still a log house, and so was the barn. But the house had a fireplace and some sort of a chimney made of

wood and clay, perhaps a cellar, and rough, hand-hewn floors.

Perhaps a little later, the settler could start thinking about getting some cash for his work by selling the "black salts." At this time (before 1830) there were no roads east of Chambly, and, for reasons difficult to understand, the English-speaking settlers would not go to Montreal through the "French Country" (the name is used to this day). Perhaps they remembered the Indian raids on New England inspired by the French. At any rate they made a terrific detour, first south to Missisquoi Bay, west to Chambly River (Richelieu now), down to Fort St. John, or even Chambly, and then by real roads to Laprairie or St. Lambert. Then came the crossing of the St. Lawrence River on "bateaux," and finally landing in Montreal. Even in a later period when the roads through Seigniories were accessible, it took nine days to reach Montreal. Yet one sled pulled by oxen could get enough rough potash to Montreal to pay the traveling expenses and bring back some cash.

The third period of colonization was the "industrialization" on a very primitive scale. First appeared sawmills, as they were badly needed, then grist mills, then the traders who were dealing in the most needed commodities at the rate of profit of 300 to 400 percent (it was then called 3 to 4 percent). The same traders established the already mentioned "asheries." Clothing was still made at home, but shoemakers appeared quite early, at about the same time as blacksmiths, fullers, and other craftsmen. Incidentally, at this time we have also an extraordinary number of distilleries, not because there was such demand for alcohol, but because there was more grain than the farmers could use, and marketing of this grain could not be done at any profit. Thus it could be wasted or turned into whiskey. This explains why, as early as 1830, the good Friends of Allen's Corner started worrying about the abuse of alcoholic beverages and organized a Temperance Society.

It speaks well of the early settlers that schools came early and were quite numerous. For instance, in 1827 in our district there were 4,500 inhabitants, one church, six taverns, eight distilleries, but also seventeen schools — as many schools as sawmills! What these schools were is another matter. The teachers were paid up to one dollar a week (wages of farm hands were two to three dollars) plus board. Discipline was a problem, and it was said that a teacher who could not outfight any three of his students at the same time

was a failure. There is at least one case of a teacher who used to throw a bowie knife in the general direction of the offending child to bring him to his senses. They were also exceptions from this rule, because we have another case of a teacher who was twelve years old.

The Friends who opened the Farnham Meeting came from, or at least through Vermont, mostly between 1800 and 1820.

From the fact that the Eastern Townships were kept in a more or less artificial status of no-man's-land, one should not jump to the conclusion that Vermont was densely populated at this time. It is true that Vermont was discovered by Champlain in 1609. It is also true that the first French settlement in Vermont dates as far back as 1665 (Isle-La-Motte). But after the British victory of 1763, England was extremely unwilling to press any French territorial claims in the district. Later on, grants were issued in the same area to English settlers (Townsend, Willard, Stone, Ashley). Some of them settled there and even fought on the American side during the War of Independence. But all in all, the settlers were very few, and huge tracts of land remained uninhabited. Practically no grants were issued before 1760, even in southern Vermont. Thus when our story starts, the settlements in northern and western Vermont were hardly more than one generation old.

The oldest and probably the largest Quaker settlement was in Danby. The original grant was made to several families of which three reappear later on in Farnham: Bucks, Willards, and Bartons. This was in 1761. Four years later, five more families arrived. We find among them for the first time the family of Bulls. There is Crispin Bull (uncle of Gideon, later of East Farnham). Timothy Bull, father of Crispin, came in 1767. At first, the Bulls were a leading family in Danby. But during the war they disappeared from public life. The loyalists were then in real danger: "A few who were considered Tories were shot near their own door." Thus the roll of freemen of Danby for 1778 does not contain any Bulls. But there is a strange remark by a contemporary historian: "it does not contain names of Aaron Bull & Asa Haskins, who were residents and over 21. . . ." Who this particular Aaron Bull was remains a mystery.

The property of the "Tories" was confiscated, and then fami-

lies without real estate were warned out of town. This happened to nineteen families in Danby between 1779 and 1786. But by 1800 the Bulls were back on the rolls. Obviously, they never left the town. We find also other Quaker names: Otis, Randall, and Barnum.

The meetings for worship took place as soon as the first settlers arrived, and the first meetinghouse was built in 1785. The meeting was recognized as Preparative in 1792 by Nine Partners, and became Monthly in 1795. The membership list contains the following names: Rogers, Hill, Smith, Lapham, Nichols, Button, Eddy, Bull, Davis, Bartlett, Colvin, Barlow, White, Southwick, Boyce, Wilbur, Palmer, Irish, Congor, Ballard, Otis, Parris, Cook, Kelley. A second meetinghouse was built in 1805. After the division (Elias Hicks visited Danby in 1830), the orthodox group opened a third meetinghouse. In 1845, a fourth meetinghouse was constructed, but the meeting was already on the decline, and the house was pulled down in 1867.

Ferrisburg Meeting was granted status as Preparative by Danby in 1793. It became Monthly in 1801. The Farnham Meeting branched off from Ferrisburg, and the majority of Friends who later went to Allen's Corner came from or through the Ferrisburg area (Bartons, Bulls, Hoskinses, Jewells, Knowleses, Purintons, Stevenses, Barnums, Meaders, Goddards). There were also meetings of lesser importance in East Montpelier, Starkboro, Lincoln, Grand Isle, Monkton, Danville, and Charlotte. Quarterly meetings took place at first in Danby, then in Ferrisburg, and finally even at Allen's Corner.

All the Quaker families who settled in Eastern Townships had been forced by circumstances to leave New England. It is pointless to speculate whether the Friends were real "loyalists" or not. One might expect them to sympathize with the revolutionary ideas, but of course not with the methods used. Since they refused to take up arms, they were considered to be enemies, or at least undesirable neutrals.

Their exodus was slow. Most of them moved at first into northern Vermont, which was practically neutral during the Rebellion, and some of them stayed there for more than fifty years, but they did not feel very secure and kept going north. The opening of

colonization in the Eastern Townships was providential for Friends, and the first application of "a company of Quakers" for a grant of land was made in 1792, i.e., as soon as it could be made.

There were two "companies" of Friends who moved into Lower Canada. The first, under the leadership of Nicholas Austin of Somersworth, New Hampshire, settled on the western shore of Memphremagog Lake in 1793. As far as we know, they never established a meeting. The descendants live still in this area, and several localities bear the names of the original settlers: Peasley, Eastman, Austin. The Roman Catholic Church tries to obliterate the latter name by calling the village St. Austin, which is a variant form of the name of St. Augustine. This is probably the only case in history when a Friend became a Roman Catholic saint.

The second company was only very loosely organized, if organized at all. Several Quaker families, well acquainted with each other, and even interrelated, slowly drifted into East Farnham township and settled around a place known later as Allen's Corner.

The leader of this second group was Gideon Bull. His ancestors, his wife, and his children were Quakers, but he never joined the Society of Friends. He did not apply for a grant of land, but bought it from Samuel Gale and his associates, who had settled there a few years earlier. For a historian Gideon Bull is a most elusive person. For instance, he was never listed in Danby, Vermont. During the census of 1790 he appears in Milton. His wife Abijah should be in Danby in 1790 and so she is, but listed as a "widow." Was Gideon an active loyalist, and were his travels so clandestine that it was judged advisable to pretend that he was dead? There are indications that Gideon knew Nicholas Austin, who was positively a very active loyalist. It looks as if at least some families who originally intended to settle in Canada with Austin finally followed Gideon Bull.

The Bulls came to East Farnham township in 1800. Gideon brought with him his wife Abijah (also a Bull, and probably his cousin of the Connecticut line), as well as five children, among them Aaron, who was then thirteen. They were followed by Knowleses (Samuel, his wife Sally Woodard, and eight children),

Meaders, Bartons, Barnums, Hoskinses, Bassetts, Tabers, Purintons, and Stevenses.

And they established the Farnham Meeting.

Most of our knowledge about the history of the meeting was based for the last fifty years on an article published in this BULLETIN in 1908 and written by Joshua Bull (son of Aaron).[1] The article, although very readable, is mostly fiction, particularly when the early times of the settlement are concerned. Joshua Bull was determined to make his father into a hero, if not a saint. Joshua's report, written two years before his death in 1910, makes it very difficult to see the real Aaron, because the facts contradict Joshua's fiction, and all we learned later about Aaron seems to be negative when compared with the fable. This, of course, is extremely unfair to Aaron, who was an outstanding personality by all standards.

Aaron of the myth got convinced by a miracle or vision when lost in the woods. He organized a meeting among people who never heard about Quakers, and lived until his death on the very spot where the vision took place. The real Aaron came to East Farnham as a boy with his father and mother, both of Quaker descent. Thus he did not need to be "convinced" by a vision. He lived in his first cabin only a few years. Then he fell in love with a Quaker girl (Phila Knowles) of Monkton (near Ferrisburg), and had to join the Society to marry her. So much for his vision. When they came back, Phila did not want to live in a shack in the woods, so they moved to a larger house in what later on was called Bullsberg. Finally, they built a still larger frame house, which still stands and which housed the first Friends' School in the district. All members of the meeting, organized not by Aaron, but by the

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1 "A Sketch of Farnham Monthly Meeting of Friends, Province of Quebec, Canada," BULLETIN OF THE FRIENDS' HISTORICAL SOCIETY, II, 113-118. Further inaccuracies were committed by George A. Barton in his *Reminiscences,* printed in the Sherbrooke (Quebec) *Record,* and even by Arthur G. Dorland in his *History of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Canada* (Toronto, 1927).

Knowleses, were already Friends, or at least of Quaker descent.[2]

Informal meetings for worship took place probably as early as 1814. They were held in the house of one of the Knowleses. By 1820 three families—Knowleses, Bulls, and Meaders — sent a request to Ferrisburg to hold a meeting for worship on First Day. This request was signed by fourteen applicants: seven Knowleses, five Bulls, and two Meaders. It was sent on September 4, 1820, and received in Ferrisburg twenty-three days later, on September 27.[3] On January 3, 1821, the request was granted for one year: one meeting for worship on the First and one on the Fifth day. The place was, as before, in David Knowles's house. At about this time, the first burying ground was established on a lot south from the Knowleses' property. The earliest grave is marked 1826, but there are several older unidentified graves. Later on, this cemetery was known as Jewells' burying ground.

On April 18th, 1822, the meeting was allowed as an Indulged Meeting. A year later the first meetinghouse (a log house) was built on the Stevenses' property. In 1826 Farnham Meeting became a Preparative Meeting. By this time it was developing normally and had plenty of committees: for the care of schools, for Indian affairs, for the care of the meetinghouse "and make fire therin" (this latter committee burned the house and all, five years later), for the poor, to investigate the morals of Henry Knowles, to establish the quota paid to Ferrisburg, and what not.

Although the first meetinghouse burned in 1831, after a prophecy to this effect by Aaron Barton, it took three years to build a second one. Probably an unique feature of this new house were

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[2] Another misunderstanding concerns the itinerary the early settlers took to reach East Farnham. In Dorland's *Quakers in Canada* (opp. p. 40) the Bolton Pass is called "the gateway" to the Eastern Townships, which seems to imply that the settlers had to cross it to reach the district. Actually, this road was not opened until 1845. The settlers coming from Ferrisburg went north to Philipsburg, Dunham Flat, and Nelsonville, mostly through flat country. If they went through Bolton Pass, they would have to cross the Green Mountains first to the East and then back. The Bolton Pass, or rather the road "Over the Mountain" south of Bolton Pass, was used only by settlers coming from the east, and by the traffic between the eastern and the western part of the Eastern Townships.

[3] The MS records of Ferrisburg and of Farnham Meetings are at the New York Yearly Meeting Records Room, 221 E. 15th St., New York City.

two rocking chairs in front of the gallery: one occupied by Stephen Bassett because of his infirmity, and the second by Frederick England for reasons unknown.

On the 22nd of June, 1840, the Farnham Meeting was allowed as a Monthly Meeting on probation, and finally, two years later, became a full-fledged Monthly Meeting.

Starting in 1850, the Quarterly Meetings were held once a year in East Farnham. This took place in October. Many Friends from Vermont and many visiting ministers attended. It probably did not occur to our Friends that their situation was peculiar from the political point of view: it was not a Canadian but the Vermont Quarterly Meeting (a part of New York Yearly Meeting) which was held in Canada.

The Wilbur-Gurney controversy affected the meeting very badly. The Wilburite minority was very small, but there were many Friends who were disgusted by the hostility between the two factions. Many were disowned, and many left the meeting of their own will. However, this was not the reason why the meeting finally declined. The division was followed by a revival, parallel to the great revival in the United States. More than a dozen new members joined the meeting, and a new meetinghouse was built in 1871, although it was not necessary at all. Was it an act of defiance or of wishful thinking?

After the short revival in the seventies, the number of members started to decline rapidly. In the nineties there were about a dozen attending the meeting for worship. In 1900 "only a handful of Friends remained," and the meeting was laid down in 1902. A few years later, the house was sold for lumber.

The life of the meeting was fairly normal in its weekly routine, and similar to the life of hundreds of other small meetings. But there were a few rather unusual factors in its history.

For a small, primitive, and strictly farming community the meeting had quite a number of traveling ministers. And some of the travels were remarkable indeed.

The first such journey in which our Friends took part started even before the Farnham Meeting was allowed. In 1823 Joseph Hoag went with Samuel Knowles on one of the longest trips on record. It is not clear whether they started from Farnham or Ferrisburg. It is rather probable that Samuel was already in Farnham and

went to Ferrisburg to join Joseph Hoag there. At any rate, they covered not less than 7,600 miles in twenty-one months. According to Joseph's journal, they went to Peru and Black River, New York, and then to Upper Canada, Ohio, Virginia, North Carolina, Tennessee, Indiana, and Illinois.[4]

Another journey of this kind was made in 1839-40 by David and Drusilla Knowles. David was lame. They both felt a concern to preach to the Indians, and they departed in a one-horse buggy to make a trip of some 5,000 miles. They never worried about the fact that they did not know anything about Indians, and that they did not speak any Indian dialect. The first stage to New York took them twenty days. In New York the Committee on Indian Affairs did all they could to dissuade the couple from continuing on their fantastic project. The discussion became so heated that Drusilla exclaimed: "We have not come here to beg for money." They went to Philadelphia, and then west. It took them two weeks to cross the Allegheny Mountains in snow sometimes three feet deep. They had to walk most of the time. They crossed the Ohio River in February. In May they boarded a boat in Cincinnati, buggy, horse, and all, and ultimately reached Little Rock, Arkansas. The next six weeks they surely spent among Indians, but with rather disappointing results. The most successful meeting took place in Dwight Mission with about thirty Indians present: David spoke twice and so did Drusilla (both in English of course) and that was that. They came back by way of Kansas City, St. Louis, and Richmond, always in the same buggy.[5]

All other travels, and there were many, were of a much shorter duration and of lesser importance.

Visitors to East Farnham were few at first, but later only too numerous, so that a special committee was appointed "to see that the Friends travelling in the ministry are suitably provided with pilotes while within the compass of this Meeting." The first was a committee from Ferrisburg in 1821. Then in 1830 Dr. Rowland Greene of Cranston, Rhode Island, a member of New England

[4] *Journal of the Life of Joseph Hoag* (Auburn, N. Y., 1861), pp. 249-288.

[5] "Some Account of a Journey to the Cherokees in 1839-1840; Being Extracts from the Journal of David E. Knowles," BULLETIN OF FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, VI (1915), 70-78; VII (1916), 15-21, 42-50.

Yearly Meeting. In 1838 Joseph John Gurney. In 1843 Lindlay Murray Hoag from Sandwich Monthly Meeting. In 1848 Bridget Haight from Pickering Monthly Meeting and Jane Crank from West London. Also Seneca Hazard from Ferrisburg. Joseph Hoag must have been a regular visitor, although he never mentions East Farnham in his journal. He was related to Knowleses and Jewells, and was called "Uncle Joseph" by the Farnham Friends.

There is little doubt that among the visitors there was one kind never mentioned in the minutes of the Meeting. This class of clandestine guests were the passengers of the Underground Railroad. Although we have no proof that Allen's Corner was a terminal of the Railroad, the circumstantial evidence is overwhelming. The secrecy was kept even on the Canadian side, because if the terminal lying so close to the border were known, the crossing points would also be obvious.

We know from the records of the Vermont Underground Railroad that there was a branch line going to Franklin, Berkshire, and Enosburg, and then north, thus reaching the territory of the Farnham Meeting. Another smaller branch, Montpelier-Troy, went through Potton and then over the Mountain and again into the area of our meeting. We know also that there were a few Negroes living in Potton and Brome. One of them lived in Allen's Corner and took part in the meetings for worship. There was also a larger group living in St. Hyacinth. Those of course were exceptions. The majority tried to reach Montreal, where they had a better chance of survival than in the hostile climate of the Eastern Townships. But every Negro who, even for a short time, tried to settle in this district is a proof that the Underground Railroad operated here; there could not be any other explanation of his presence.

On the other hand, we should not imagine that large numbers of fugitives were regularly unloaded at Allen's Corner. More probably they were taken by stagecoaches or other conveyances from Frelighsburg or Dunham to Montreal. Then the numbers were not as large as the legend of the Underground Railroad would like us to believe. A large majority went farther west into Ontario. Of the remaining number handled by the Vermont lines, again the majority went through Burlington-Swanton-St. Albans directly to Montreal. How many were left for the eastern branches, used prob-

ing for worship as opposed to the glamorous services of other deably in emergency only? And how many of those were actually taken care of by the Friends in Allen's Corner?

At any rate it is quite certain that the Quakers of the Farnham Meeting did more than collect subscriptions for "People of Colour in North Carolina."

Among other activities of our Friends, there is one which deserves attention, because it is rather unexpected. They were inordinately fond of writing. This would be understandable in the case of the few "scholars," such as George A. Barton, who left Allen's Corner, acquired higher education, and wrote professionally. But there were other members of the Meeting who could hardly be described as educated, who nevertheless left all sorts of "writings" for posterity.

It started with Journal of the Journey to the Indians by David and Drusilla Knowles. Printed in a condensed version in this BULLETIN (1915-16), it must have been, in its original form, quite a long document. When Sarah Stevens died in 1842, she left some writings which were judged to be important enough to be read by a special committee. The committee "produced an essay of memorials and also selections from her writings." In 1853 Susanna (Hall) Norris published a book of verses, which contains valuable historical material. Mary S. Barton was a writer and a publisher. She owned a small printing press. In 1880 she published a volume, "The Loved Ones," about departed Friends and neighbors. She had about a dozen contributors to this volume. In 1844 Charles Purinton printed some pamphlets, unfortunately not preserved, which did not meet with the approval of the meeting, and which finally led to his disownment. Finally Joshua Bull, Jr. wrote his history of the meeting, and other articles for the BULLETIN.[6] These are the published works we know about. There may be many more, and we can only guess at the number of writings which were never printed.

There are several theories which try to explain the decline of the Farnham Meeting. They offer many reasons: the division of the forties, the isolation, the strict attitude of the elders toward young members marrying outside of the Society, the simplicity of the meet-

[6] Besides the article mentioned in footnote 1, see IV (1912), 133-137.

nominations. They are all valid, but they do not include all factors.

They do not explain, for instance, why small meetings established by early settlers at a distance from larger centers had a definite span of life. Thus the earlier meetings died earlier, and the latest survived several decades longer. The only explanation is that the "civilization" of cheap technology, higher wages, looser social life, and of other temptations was always catching up with the settlements after two or three generations, i.e., when the settlement became prosperous enough to make this intrusion profitable. The early community of a cooperative type would become a competitive one, where spiritual goals were supplanted by materialistic ones. The uncompromising attitude of Quakerism was here at a disadvantage, when compared with the opportunism of other religious denominations.

Even after the Farnham Meeting was laid down in 1902, not all activities connected with the Meeting's different properties ceased. Just a year before the last meetings for worship took place, a sort of committee was formed to take care of the original burying ground. Keziah Jewell made a gift of land on which the burying ground was situated "in consideration that the said Plot of ground shall remain forever as such burying ground sacred to the memory of those whose mortal remains are and were buried there. . . ." Six Tabers, two Bulls, and ten other names appear on a subscription list "for the purpose of cleaning up the ground and further beautifying and fencing the Jewell Burying Ground." This cemetery is in a remarkably good shape today. In January 1917 "The Friends Cemetery Company" was incorporated in Cowansville. This company still exists and takes care of the meetinghouse burying ground. The Bullsberg burying ground was incorporated into the Anglican cemetery, which serves the eastern part of Allen's Corner, now the village of East Farnham. The old graves are in very good preservation.

There is no moral to this story, but there is a sequel. If one visits the site of the old meetinghouse in Allen's Corner on a sunny Sunday, just before noon, one may see that a Quaker Meeting for Worship still takes place there. Friends sit in the shade of a large maple tree; there are graves of long-departed members of the Farnham Meeting all around them. And there is silence.

The Farnham Meeting goes on.

QUAKER "CHARITY" BEFORE THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION

By SYDNEY V. JAMES*

In the mid-twentieth century Quaker beliefs often attract a wider audience than the Society of Friends. The appeal frequently lies in the social consequences which the beliefs have had for at least a significant proportion of those who hold them. In addition to conscientious objection to war, work camps and the whole range of activities of the American Friends Service Committee seem to arise necessarily from the Quaker views. Yet, regardless of the debatable force of the necessity, such actions clearly derive their value from conditions of the world in the present. An ambulance corps or an experiment in starvation with conscientious objectors as guinea pigs "belongs" in an era of total war endowed with modern theories of physiology. The Quaker, willy-nilly, has to find some relationship to his nation-state which will be mutually acceptable. But in earlier times the nature of the state or realm did not make appropriate the same social consequences of Quaker beliefs.

Looking back to the eighteenth century with eyes trained in the twentieth, we see most readily precursors of the later years, the opening buds of the blossoms around us. The past seems to contain little more than hints of the present. To achieve a better understanding of the eighteenth century, it is necessary to examine it as itself an outcome of still earlier developments. Viewed in this way the social consequences of Quakers' beliefs may be evaluated in relation to the life of the community at large in which they operated. Above all, the limitations of Friends' concern for outsiders may be seen for what they were without embarrassment.

The guiding concept for social duty to the eighteenth century Quaker was one which he usually called "charity." In the late seventeenth century and again from the time of the American Revolution on, charity shared the field with other ideals, but for most of the

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time between 1690 and 1760 it stood alone, and for historically good reasons. Earlier, a period of confusion over the role of the church, following the onset of religious diversity in England, had allowed unrealistic hopes to thrive; later, the forming of a new kind of society in America elicited the ideal of humanitarianism. While obligations to the government were defined by an hereditary monarchy and its arms, the colonial authorities, Quakers could exist as an exceptional group of subjects favored by exemption from some of the usual requirements. As in early Pennsylvania, they could even have a special province in which the needs of their consciences could be met in full. Their chief responsibility was to avoid interfering in the conduct of the monarchy's affairs. When the American Revolution ushered in a regime firmly based on popular sovereignty, the citizens were expected to take a more positive approach to public life. The Quakers, barred by conscience from participating in the Revolution and holding virtually any public office, responded to the new order of things by endorsing a form of humanitarianism, a belief in an obligation to help any deserving fellow human, regardless of religion, and thereby rectify society in the light of morality. In the services which they and their religious Society could perform for the non-Quaker poor, the Negroes, and the Indians, Friends found a role for themselves in the community of Americans. Thus ended the predominance of charity and a confusion which had existed since the rise of Puritanism in England.

When the English church broke its tie with Rome, it continued to be a virtually universal communion and carried on the institutional means for performing all sorts of social services from education to the relief of paupers. In the Elizabethan age these parts of church business fell under increasing regulation by the monarchy until the parish as a unit of local government became distinct from the parish as a community of churchgoers. Simultaneously, certain parts of the established church (such as universities and hospitals) became nearly autonomous corporations, and private benevolence gave them a growing company of philanthropic organizations. However, beginning with the creation of dissenting congregations for worship, the role of the religious organization, apart from maintaining devotional exercises, came into doubt. Certainly education had to be kept, if only to preserve the dissenters' opinions against the orthodoxy of the older schools. Other aspects, though, were not

so clear. Relief of the poor remained a religious obligation, for instance, but possibly an independent congregation need not try to provide for the whole nation. While minority sects went on expecting to prevail over all others, they could postpone a final decision, for the problem would eliminate itself. Such was the case for early Friends who counted on their views becoming universal. Anticipating a swift end to multiplicity of sects, some Quakers thought their social duty extended to all mankind even before universal convincement, and they eagerly spoke for reformist laws or advocated demonstrations of remedies for social ills.

The outpouring of early Quaker meliorative plans came to its climax with John Bellers in England, but some of the same zeal crossed the Atlantic in the hearts of Friends who went to the shores of the Delaware. There it thrived as long as the hope remained that in the New World's freedom all comers would blend into the Quaker way. But the hope soon was dashed, and American Friends grew up to take over from the English immigrants. No further sustenance for social reformism came from England, where response to the spirit of Bellers died out with astonishing rapidity while Quakers tried to earn the affirmation privilege by leading quiet, inoffensive lives. (Social reformism flourished rather among Anglicans who wanted to substitute "practical Christianity" for doctrinal bickering. Friends, after the Wilkinson-Story dispute over church government in the 1670's, had no dissensions which could be helped by such a strategy.)

What remained for the Quaker was to define and justify his duty toward his fellow men and the scope of the activities of his ecclesiastical institution, the Meeting. The business of the Meeting had to be analyzed in the light of its religious functions and the fact that it would be neither a universal nor a state church — indeed, that it would always be, even in the Quaker colonies, an organization holding its own against a hostile national church. Plainly the social duty of the Quaker and his Meeting could be vague, negative, and minimal in regard to outsiders. English Friends, in fact, for several decades preferred that it be so; when seeking the privilege to make affirmation rather than swear oaths, they wished to have no evidence that their sect would become an *imperium in imperio* if given a chance. Only in a place like Pennsylvania, where little except the wishes of these transatlantic brethren and the im-

perial framework cramped the expansion of the role of the Meeting, could much more be attempted.

The necessary set of ideas to comprehend the situation soon took form as *charity;* it served until a new situation created a need for something else. In operation, charity had as its central features the mutual aid and encouragement to avoid sin which Friends gave each other. But charitable practices included most of the activities of the Monthly Meeting and nearly any contact between Friends when conducted virtuously. Robert Proud, writing just before the American Revolution, extended the concept to surprising ramifications which complicate the task of explaining it. Together with such easily justified features as maintaining solvency and the use of arbitrators rather than suits at law, he put the love of enemies (and seeking their welfare), care of Friends' poor by the Meeting while members also paid taxes for support of the "public poor," education of all children to be self-supporting, civic spirit, promoting and contributing money to benevolent institutions, and even pacifism. (It is true that he labored to justify the testimony against war on worldly as well as moral grounds.)[1]

Basically, Friends regarded charity as an expression of "the love of God, which first made us love one another." Love, Penn explained, was the "natural" binding material of the universe and gave both religion and secular government their true effectiveness. The role of the Quaker Meeting, however, could not be deduced from such broad principles alone.[2]

Early in the eighteenth century Philadelphia Yearly Meeting recommended to its members a "Fervent & Inward charity one towards another, & to all Men." This endorsement was hardly debatable: there had been "those Commendations given unto Charity by the Apostle in his Day," and the example of early Christians, whose type of religious fellowship Friends believed they were restoring. In Penn's day there was a remnant of an ancient Christian attitude: that the poor are the image of God and as such must be loved as God is loved. A Quarterly Meeting at Philadelphia began a collection for them, "that we may continue to have a true

[1] Robert Proud, *History of Pennsylvania in North America* (Philadelphia, 1797-98), I, 58-61.

[2] *Select Works of William Penn* (London, 1782), IV, 264-265, 445.

feeling sence of such among us, as are the Lords true poor, who may cry to the Lord for relief;" none should "justly complain in our street, but that our Bowels may be open to them for their Relief." By 1721 practical expressions of charity were praised as "friends antient Care and practice." Yet the authority of the past was not enough; explanation seemed necessary, and the Meeting supplied it by calling upon "Experience." Without charity not only did "Zeal towards God" fail, but "Men speak Evil of Dignities, Detract & Lessen the Name of their Neighbours, & Evilly Intreat in Secret the Reputations of those that think them no Harm." But "where Charity is, there is Love to God, & love to Man," and since it "preserves Unity, & as it were Teaches all Duty," it inspired "Acts, and Expressions of Love & Goodwill to all." The Meeting in 1719 clarified the concept in abstract terms as "Social affection, and communicative good," calling it "the foundation of the people of God, And as they abide in it," the authority of their Meetings. The peculiar feature of this occasion to define charity was that the words went into the preamble to the Discipline to be enforced.[3]

Maintaining virtuous conduct among the members of the Meeting was part of the practice of charity! Like other parts, such as aid to needy Friends, this one was explained by one of the Quakers' definitions of their religious fellowship. They thought of the church as the family of Christ, and tried to behave as members of one family ought to behave towards each other, "taking due Care one of another for their Preservation from all Uncleanness, Disorder, Snares and Entanglements that are in the World." The brotherhood in Christ, however, did not impose an overriding equality on the partakers, but gave divine sanction to other relationships, made it virtuous for "*Husbands to love their Wives, and Wives to love and reverence their Husbands; Children to honour their Parents, and Servants their Masters.*" Spiritual kinship even created the moral

[3] Epistle to Quarterly and Monthly Meetings, in Minutes of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (MS, Department of Records, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 302 Arch St., Philadelphia 6, Pa.), minutes for 1721; Penn, *Select Works,* IV, 26; Minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting (MS, Department of Records, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting), minutes for 10th mo. 7, 1685; Minutes of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1706, 1719; William Edmundson, Epistle "Concerning Men and Women's Meetings," *Journal* (London, 1774), pp. 369-370.

need for "*Widows to be chaste; also young Men and Maids to be sober-minded, and not to marry with Unbelievers; and all to labour, for he that will not work, must not eat; and rich Men to be rich in good Works.*"[4]

Family solidarity operated also in mutual aid by Quakers. The Meeting assumed the duties of an ordinary father or husband who was poor, disabled, or missing when flesh-and-blood kin could not take his place. It cared for widows, fatherless children, the sick and lame, kept watch over the treatment of apprentices placed with its help, and it supported the aged.

Friends went so far as to use the human family as a sub-assembly of the church. They believed that the "divine principle of Grace" was sufficient to "preserve children" in "Obedience to that divine Command, of Honouring of Parents." At irregular intervals, Friends who felt adequate spiritual power and a "concern" to do the work visited their brethren family by family to help strengthen these vital units. The Meeting held heads of households responsible for the spiritual training and welfare of those under them, especially to encourage and invite them by "a pious Example . . . to love retirement; & to seek in stillness for the Counsels of Wisdom that they may become happily acquainted with the voice of the true Sheapherd."[5]

Throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, it should be noted, the family or household included more than just parents and children. In addition to other dependent relatives, it embraced bound servants and slaves. The Meeting insisted that such persons ought to be treated exactly as actual kin. In practice Negroes were not taken into the family fully, though apprentices probably were, especially if they were young Friends.[6]

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[4] Proud, *History of Pennsylvania,* I, 74; Penn, *Select Works,* IV, 140, 188, 325-326; Edmundson, *Journal,* pp. 344-347; Thomas Budd, *Good Order Established in Pennsylvania and New Jersey* (reprinted Cleveland, 1902), pp. 78-79.

[5] Minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting of Women Friends, 2nd mo. 25, 1763; Minutes of Burlington Monthly Meeting, 3rd mo. 3, 1753; Minutes of Falls Monthly Meeting, 10th mo. 4, 1751, 12th mo. 6, 1786 (all MS, Department of Records, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting).

[6] Thomas E. Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America* (New Haven, Conn., 1950), pp. 16-18, 32-33.

When conducting their church government, Friends strove always to safeguard the reputation of Truth by maintaining "the comely Order of the Gospel." They believed that the restoration of the "ancient Beauty" of functional relationships between the believers with their various "gifts" attracted converts and produced an institution with an excellence lovely in itself and glorious to God. The distinctive beauty of Christian fellowship was perfection of individual conduct. The discipline of the Meeting preserved "Christ's liberty," that is, perfect freedom from sin and human will. If each one persevered as he ought to in his worldly employment, spent money on nothing "vain" or corrupting, stayed within bounds of prudence, what need had he of charity beyond watchfulness of the Meeting's Overseers of his behavior? Christ's vineyard was not to be kept in order by preserving people in sin; nor was his Truth to be promulgated if its professors were allowed to behave scandalously without reproach. The Meeting, therefore, had to be sure that a Friend needed aid on account of circumstances which did not arise from behavior below standard, or that aid would improve him.[7]

Various events could reduce Quakers to want and dependency in spite of blameless conversation. Orphans and poor widows obviously could not be held responsible for their hardships when there was no suspicion of murder. Even those orphans with an inheritance needed to have legal aid or supervision of their training for both secular and religious life. Victims of fire, flood, and sickness bore no blame for these disasters. Nor did victims of religious persecutions. Those brought to distress by military campaigns or capture had to qualify for aid by maintaining Friends' peace testimony. Business failure could logically be a legitimate occasion for the Meeting's aid in the form of either temporary relief or measures calculated to restore the unfortunate man's earning power, provided he had carried on his affairs in accord with Friends' standing recommendations. Even the family of an alleged counterfeiter "in want of immediate Relief & Assistance" got "the necessary care." They were, after all, innocent victims of radically corrupt human nature.[8]

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[7] Penn, *Select Works,* IV, 279, 439; Edmundson, *Journal,* pp. 341-348; Proud, *History of Pennsylvania,* I, 217-219; Minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, 8th mo. 31, 1729, 8th mo. 30, 1771.

[8] Minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, 1st mo. 29, 1751.

Though Quakers spared no pains to prevent their "Community as a People Professing Godliness" from suffering "any Reproach by the Vicious or Uncomely Practices of any" members, they did not serve this goal by swift expulsion of the wayward. Brotherhood in the love of Christ required them to defend each other from the "Mischievous Attempts of Satan the Adversary." Their beliefs about sanctification and the worth of aids to divine grace led them to expand charity in several directions beyond simple encouragement to virtue.[9]

The spotlight on the Inner Light in Friends' doctrines has left inconspicuous their commitment to the view that every man was "originally disordered, and actually depraved." Technically, the seed of grace which they believed equally universal was not part of the natural self; moreover, the seed lay dormant if neglected.[10] Even after some religious cultivation, a Quaker's corrupt nature shaped his conduct all too often. The Meeting had to explain this lamentable fact in its testimonies of disownment.

In these documents eighteenth-century Friends used two approaches to the subject of disorderly behavior and the distress which might be its consequence. In the practical conduct of the Meeting, an emphasis was often put on immediate causes. In testimonies of disownment, such causes of reprehensible behavior were given as "loose and Unprofitable Company, and . . . frequently drinking strong Liquors to Excess," disregard of "the Duty due to . . . Parents, and the Unity of Friends, contrary to the Rules of Discipline Establish'd for the maintenance of Good Order among Us," and "Neglect of Meetings for Divine Worship." Sometimes common-sense elaboration made the causal chain more substantial. Excessive drinking introduced "discord, strife & many other evils" or deprived a woman "of the use of her understanding, And caused her to Speak, and Act in an Imprudent and unseemly manner." The disownment testified mainly against the acts at the end of the series. Friends

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[9] Minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, 8th mo. 31, 1729; Epistle to London Yearly Meeting in Minutes of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1786.

[10] Robert Barclay, *Apology for the True Christian Divinity* (many editions), Props. IV, V, VI; Joseph Phipps, *The Original and Present State of Man, Briefly Considered* (Philadelphia, 1836), pp. 20, 33; Brand Blanshard, "Early Thought on the Inner Light," in H. H. Brinton, ed., *Byways in Quaker History* (Wallingford, Pa., 1944), p. 169.

could elude the snares of such evil ways. Commonly, the fact that they did not was set down discreetly to "unwatchfulness" or "carelessness," which put some blame on the lax vigilance of their Friends as well as themselves.[11]

But more basic explanations for failure were also given sometimes. One man "Transgressed the wholesome Rules Of Friends" by marrying a girl within the forbidden degrees of consanguinity "through inatention to that Light and Wisdom which by Divine Goodness has [been] placed in every Intilgent mind." Rarely, the finger of blame pointed to an ultimate cause, "the Snares of the Tempter" or seduction "by the Enemy of Mankind." Satan was expected to seize every chance to introduce disorder into the community of Friends, as he had successfully done into the early Christian church. He tempted individuals to "Indulge themselves" in numberless ways and thereby subtract them from the love of God and unity in Christ.[12]

Emphasis on the built-in defense which each man has in the Inner Light gave Quaker explanations of sin the corollary injunction: cultivate the personal religious experience, subdue the human will. Emphasis on bad company, drink, or the devil gave a different one: fight the temptations in the world, cling to the pure community in the religious fellowship. The former fitted out a self-reliant Christian warrior, the latter a successful sectarian or ascetic amid society. Either emphasis could be given, as Friends believed that they had the capacity individually to cultivate "that good seed universally sown in every heart, by the great and good Husbandman," or collectively to shore up the defenses of the band of saints against the mass of reprobates bombarding them with temptations to the vain delights their own natures yearned after.[13]

Charity put the inner cultivation into the context of the com-

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[11] Minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, 1st mo. 29, 1768, 1st mo. 31, 1752; Minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting of Women, 6th mo. 24, 1757, 1st mo. 31, 1766, 5th mo. 25, 1759; Minutes of Burlington Monthly Meeting, 11th mo. 7, 1750.

[12] Minutes of South Kingstown Monthly Meeting (MS, Yearly Meeting Vault, Moses Brown School, Providence 6, R. I.), 1st mo. 1, 1776; Minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting of Women, 2nd mo. 24, 1764, 12th mo. 31, 1773.

[13] Phipps, *Original and Present State of Man,* p. 33.

mon struggle with the world. Conduct evil enough to warrant disownment was forgiven in members when they showed new evidence of regeneration. Quakers found that the soul felt an orderly process of rebirth. An acute awareness, then horror of sin and helplessness of the natural man welled up, to be relieved by a glimmering of God's law. The soul expanded in knowledge and freed itself from bondage to sin. Ministry and dealings were to bring on such a renovation, which could happen in anyone. Where signs of it existed, the care of the Meeting continued. Timely administration of material aid could help, by removing earthly "hindrance to . . . inward growth." The tie of mutual love between members was not broken when one erred; the rest had the obligation to help him back in ways which they did not use with outsiders. They were all in a league against the snares freely accumulated by people of the world. Even this united stand of the embattled saints became subdued into an aspect of charity when the world was regarded less as the enemy and more as the audience to be edified by the comely order of the Gospel in action.[14]

Another important feature of charity among Friends logically followed from their doctrine of grace. Since all could seize the opportunity offered by the divine seed and there were known conditions and exercises which made it easier to do so, it was obvious that out of love they should put one another in the right condition. These considerations gave one of the reasons for Quaker educational charity and some of its special character. They gave a purpose to the distribution of denominational literature to Meeting libraries or directly into the possession of a member too poor to buy it.[15] They also reinforced desires to make giving aid to the needy an act calculated to produce long-range benefit.

Quakers believed that wealth should further God's purposes; its possessor should regard himself as a steward only. Though there was virtue in using riches for acts of mercy, a wise steward would try to control the economic consequences of his gifts. When rich Friends

[14] Phipps, *Original and Present State of Man,* pp. 37-38, 53-55; George Fox, MS Epistles and Advices to Birmingham Friends, 1681, p. 8, as quoted in Arnold Lloyd, *Quaker Social History, 1669-1738* (London, 1950), p. 32; Minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, 11th mo. 24, 1769.

[15] Minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, 7th mo. 29, 1749, 6th mo. 28, 1765; Minutes of Falls Monthly Meeting, 4th mo. 1, 1772.

gave money for charity they often specified that it could be used either for relief of the poor or putting out their children to learn a trade. Responsible use of wealth could prevent future as well as alleviate present poverty. Such charity, even when applied to Friends only, contributed to the welfare of the whole civil community, as a life made productive rather than parasitic would help all the citizenry just as the improvement of individual property raised the value of land around it.[16]

In sum, then, Friends in their own circle carried out the medieval duties of the church as social service agency, but believed that their efforts contributed to the general welfare in a society containing a diversity of sects.

As praised in the Philadelphia Yearly Meeting Minute of 1706, charity could logically extend more directly to those outside of the membership than it ordinarily did. Endorsement of such extension was *pro forma* to some degree; Meetings neither enforced nor specified positive duties to outsiders. Certainly they had no intention to bring into Meeting the charitable acts for outsiders that Friends did for each other. Meetings did not think it right to take under their care poor orphans who were not the children of Friends in good standing, but referred them to public authorities. In extraordinary cases of need members contributed through the Meeting to the relief of outsiders, but this practice was rare.[17]

In the late seventeenth century, Quaker writers had preached greater duties to humankind at large, but they remained matters of individual virtue which the Meetings did not inspect. In the early days of the Quaker colonies, Meetings made a few gestures to regulate members' business with outsiders in the interest of general moral purity. Friends were told, for example, not to keep wares in their shops to sell to others which they thought it wicked to buy for their own use. A man discovered with a stock of "Jew's harps" received a visit from a committee of his Monthly Meeting to tell him to sell no more and get back those already purchased, refunding

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[16] Penn, *Select Works*, II, 158; Thomas Woody, *Early Quaker Education in Pennsylvania* ("Columbia University Contributions to Education, Teachers' College Series," No. 105; New York, 1920), pp. 32-34, 107-108, 128.

[17] Minutes of Falls Monthly Meeting, 4th mo. 6, 1683; Minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, 6th mo. 26, 1715, 10th mo. 28, 1739.

the price. The Meeting sought to avoid encouraging the Indians in theft by advising Friends to accept in trade "neither Hogs Bells, nor any other things . . . which may be suspected that they came not honestly by." But after the beginning of the eighteenth century Meetings neglected such details and required of their members only the negative duty of not damaging or deceiving outsiders.[18]

In the main, Friends expressed love to the public by affording an example of love to one another. In their Yearly Meeting at Philadelphia, 1786, they wrote to their "fellow Labourers in the Vineyard of Jesus our Lord" across the ocean calling on all Quakers to persevere in "the Upright Performance of our respective Duties as individual Members of his mystical Body when separate," and in their religious society, "as united Branches of his heavenly Household, to promote the Glory of his holy Name among ourselves." By preserving each other in good discipline, they could ensure that "an Increase of Brightness & Strength" would "be known to ourselves, and visible to enquiring Beholders."[19]

Some branches of charity, however, served the world more directly than by example alone. Pacifism, of course, diminished the havoc of war, but it also led its practitioners to cultivate the useful rather than the destructive arts. Familiarity with the success of the Meeting's mutual aid might also lead rightly disposed Friends to engage in projects of similar character to benefit the whole civil community.[20]

More often, though, the concept of charity had such a strong component of corporate solidarity that Friends faced their neighbors as "a People" apart. Though similar to the behavior of other religious segments of colonial society, this way of doing things arose in part from the Quakers' belief that they needed a collective protection from the "World." As early as 1726 the Yearly Meeting urged its members to look back on the settling of Pennsylvania and try to be as worthy as their forbears. The tumultuous, profane crowd

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[18] Penn, *Select Works,* II, 180; Budd, *Good Order,* p. 23; Minutes of Burlington Monthly Meeting, 7th mo. 6, 1682; Minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, 4th mo. 6, 1687, 8th mo. 30, 1696, 9th mo. 27, 1696, 5th mo. 25, 1701.

[19] Minutes of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1786.

[20] Minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, 10th mo. 5, 1759; Proud, *History of Pennsylvania,* I, 58-61.

of the world's people posed a special threat. Since Quakers controlled the government, outsiders could not "persecute them as in times past," but strove "to give them disturbance and trouble of another sort" in their immoralities and deceits, "using many artful ways to draw others to fall in with them."[21]

Friends had to resist with virtue, as they refused to seek revenge or hurt their enemies. They could not conscientiously wall themselves off from the multitude. Morality required sympathetic help for the "infirmities" of outsiders; Friends "must make their case as" their "own, and travail alike in spirit for them as for" themselves.[22]

Illumined by charity they could do a little more. In Pennsylvania especially, Quakers kept feeling the responsibility to produce a general reformation. In their capacity as a People they could bring well-meaning pressure to bear on other appropriate social entities for the good of all. When the Monthly Meeting in Philadelphia weightily considered the prevalence of swearing and drunkenness, it concluded to present a memorial to the Mayor, Aldermen, and Commonalty of the City expressing their concern and that of "all other the Sober and well minded Inhabitants." They asked that the government take action to do everybody good by suppressing vicious ways. Save for considering such a petition, they "as a Religious Society ever carefully avoided admitting Matters immediately relating to Civil Government into" their "Deliberations." They thought it right, however, to discuss and act on a request for aid to victims of a fire in Charles Town, which the Proprietor and Governor of Pennsylvania had received from the Governor of South Carolina and transmitted to the "several Religious Societys." The Monthly Meeting had even taken a plan for a common burial ground to other societies in the city of Philadelphia, saying that "we as a people shall be willing to allow our share towards the charge thereof, if they think well of it."[23]

[21] Minutes of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1726, as quoted in Ezra Michener, *A Retrospect of Early Quakerism* (Philadelphia, 1860), pp. 147-148; Carl and Jessica Bridenbaugh, *Rebels and Gentlemen: Philadelphia in the Age of Franklin* (New York, 1942), pp. 236-243.

[22] Penn, *Select Works,* IV, 241.

[23] Minutes of Philadelphia Monthly Meeting, 7th mo. 27, 1733, 1st mo. 27, 1741, 9th mo. 26, 1703; "Address" to John Penn, Lt. Gov., in Minutes of the Meeting for Sufferings of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (MS, Department of Records, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting), 2nd mo. 25, 1764.

As a People among Peoples, a sect among sects, Friends found a proper plane of existence as one of a group of coordinate entities to initiate or be called on for certain kinds of social action. They relieved their own poor and expected other religious divisions of the community to do the same. They left to civil society certain functions thought to be appropriate to it in a governmental sphere, notably those relating to temporal interests or embracing the affairs of all religious subdivisions. They expressed their religious obligation to outsiders by corporate leadership in virtue and individual help in filling some of the blank corners left by the system of Peoples each preserving primarily its own. In this way Friends participated in the colonial American solution to the problems in social service raised by nationalizing the church in England and the beginning of toleration of dissenting bodies. The solution enjoyed least success in respect to the duties of the Friend to the community at large; these it handled partly by making them functions of the Meeting (notably in preaching moral and decorous behavior), partly leaving them to individual discretion, partly letting them go.

While the Quaker fellowship continued to stand in relation to the Church of England as a tolerated and eccentric deviation from an ideal unity, the modest array of obligations which charity gave the Friend toward his neighbors seemed adequate to virtue. The inadequacy of charity as a guiding concept first appeared when it confronted fellow men of sorts not reckoned with in the Old World — Indians and Negro slaves. In due time the challenges offered by peoples of non-European backgrounds and the creation of a society based on popular sovereignty and full separation of church and state had to be met. But during most of the eighteenth century charity justified the features of church business which Quakers thought most vital, and did not torment them by implying that they should attempt the impossible. It gave meaning to the existence and operations of a religious fellowship which could have no pretensions to being universal or official, one which was bound to insist upon religious toleration and voluntarism in denominational affiliation. In the aftermath of the English Reformation any dissenting sect which hoped for stability had to have such a concept. Charity served the Quakers.

Notes and Documents

QUAKERS IN "BLEEDING KANSAS"

By CECIL CURREY*

Pacifism was a noteworthy force among members of the Society of Friends in Kansas for but a few short years. This period of strength began in 1854 when the first Quakers entered the area and came to an end less than fifteen years later, following the end of the Civil War. Those short years were filled with examples of patience, love, and sacrificial giving for others, non-violent resistance, and heroism as Quaker settlers and their families strove both to remain loyal to their faith and to make a place for themselves on the American frontier.

Quaker settlers crossed the Missouri River and entered the hill country of eastern Kansas shortly after the passage of the Kansas-Nebraska Act in May, 1854. This famous Congressional act repealed Henry Clay's Missouri Compromise which had provided for the admission of Missouri as a slave state. This had been acceptable to the North only because slavery was prohibited in areas north of parallel 36° 30′ (the southern boundary of Missouri). The Kansas-Nebraska Act was pushed through Congress by Stephen A. Douglas. It opened the territories to slavery, for each was allowed to determine its own status: free or slave. A bloody chapter in American history was written as the foes and friends of slavery poured into the newly organized Territory of Kansas. Each faction was determined to strengthen its respective power in Congress by assuring the "proper" attitude toward slavery in Kansas — the territory most likely to become the next state.

Members of the Society of Friends, long antagonistic to the traffic in men's bodies, felt that they could do much to influence the issue's outcome by political and moral force. The promise of good, cheap farmland gave Quakers a second excellent reason for moving into the territory. The first Quaker settler in Kansas Territory was

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George M. Harvey, who staked his claim on Dragoon Creek, near Leavenworth, in June of 1854. A short time later, his brother, father, and their families joined George. In the fall two more Quaker families "settled up" claims nearby. During Indiana Yearly Meeting in October, 1854, three Friends decided to explore Kansas for suitable farmland. They visited the Territory and in 1855 took up claims on Stranger Creek, near the present-day town of Springdale, Kansas.[1]

These early Friends did not believe in force of arms. Although abolitionists, they willingly settled in localities where "nigger-lovers" were in constant danger. They carried no weapons, for they believed that an attitude of non-resistance, staunch ideals, and acts of kindness toward both pro-slavers and free staters would protect them better than armed force. The Quakers hoped that this witness, coupled with their votes, would aid Kansas to become a free state.

The first Quaker families quickly became known to the pro-slavers through Joel Hiatt. Hiatt was an ex-Quaker who had dropped out of the Society in previous years. Although he moved in pro-slavery circles, he did his best to safeguard the Friends by circulating the information that they were a "harmless" people. Hiatt informed the slavers that Quakers were peaceable and would be obedient to the law regardless of their own personal feelings and would never interfere with another man's "niggers."[2] This defense of his old faith may have reawakened his ideals, for at a later period Hiatt rejoined the Society and remained a loyal member until his death.

An election in Kansas Territory under the free-soil Topeka Constitution was scheduled for January 15, 1856. Shortly before it was to be held, attempts were made to intimidate those against slavery. A group of pro-slavers calling themselves the "Kickapoo Rangers" decided to raid the farms of settlers living on Fall and Stranger Creeks. The Rangers felt that the resultant terror and demoralization would cause the election to fail. Many Quakers lived athwart the proposed line of march of the Kickapoo Rangers. A free-soil rider galloped through the night, warning the Friends to arm themselves and prepare for the raid, for all abolitionists would be killed

[1] William H. Coffin, "Settlement of the Friends in Kansas," *Collections of the Kansas State Historical Society,* VII (1902), 322ff.

[2] Ibid., p. 332.

or driven from the Territory. A young Quaker, William Coffin, heard the news. His fears overwhelmed him and his pacifism deserted him. For some time Coffin stood guard over his cabin and sleeping family with a double-barreled shotgun. Finally, toward midnight, he "drew the loads from his gun and put it away; and then on my knees, I told the Lord all about it and asked His protection; and so, casting all my care upon Him I felt easy, went to bed . . . and slept until sun-up the next morning."[3] The marauders had not come!

The Friends never knew at what moment they might be plunged into danger. Not even their animals were safe. In the spring of 1856, one Quaker settler had purchased two horses, paying $150.00 for one, a bay. The bay was confiscated by a marauding pro-slave band. The disgruntled Quaker gave the remaining horse to the captain of a free-state ranger band and contented himself with riding a mule.

The danger became greater. One young Friend while acting as an election official was nearly beaten to death. Another's life was endangered by a band of slavers, but his previous hospitality to them on a cold night the past winter caused them to set him free. Ira Hadley, of Cottonwood, the first Quaker settler of that area, was arrested by a group of pro-slavers but spurred his horse and escaped in a "hail" of bullets. One of Hadley's friends, a member of the Society, was almost hanged and his cattle were stolen.[4]

It was dangerous to venture out alone on the prairie, yet the Quakers continued to go quietly about their business, unarmed and trusting in their Lord for protection. In midsummer of 1856, one Friend set out from home hunting lost oxen. He was some four miles to the southeast of the Quaker settlement when he saw two uniformed men heading for him. They were riding Missouri horses at full speed. The Quaker realized that his horse had not the speed to outrun them, so he continued to canter along. As the riders drew nearer, the endangered man earnestly gave his problem to God. Then the two heavily armed men stopped his horse and began to question him. Believing that they would not harm him before finding out to which side he belonged, the Quaker decided to "play

[3] Ibid., p. 334-335.

[4] Sheldon G. Jackson, *A Short History of Kansas Yearly Meeting of Friends* (Wichita, 1946), pp. 26-27. Cf. Coffin, *loc. cit.*, pp. 336-338.

dumb." He responded to their questions with a foolish grin and "I don't know." Exasperated, the two captors asked him what he *did* know. The reply was "My horse can outrun yours." A general laugh broke out, and the moment for violence had passed. The Friend was allowed to continue on his way unmolested. He later told a companion that "It was one of the times when it was necessary to be 'wise as serpents and harmless as doves.' We never . . . prevaricated, but told the truth; but . . . sometimes we told as little as possible."[5]

The Friends' Shawnee Mission Indian school had been established in 1836. It was attacked by pro-slavers in August, 1856. Eighteen men rode into the mission, threw down fences, destroyed much, and stole cattle, horses, provisions, and such property as they could carry away. One horse which could not be taken with them was shot, although the mission superintendent pleaded that it be left so he could take his sick wife to a doctor. Instead, the superintendent, his family, and the teachers were threatened with death and ordered to "git out of the country." The mission was left so destitute that it had to close for nearly a year.[6]

In the "Bleeding Kansas" of border warfare there were about two hundred Quakers. Although harassed and threatened, they braved their difficulties and strengthened their communities by establishing several preparative and monthly meetings for worship. The admission of Kansas Territory to the Union on January 29, 1861, did not end the vicissitudes of the sect. A few months later, the Civil War began. The new state was called upon by the Federal government for contributions to the war effort. Fifteen white regiments, a white battery, three Negro regiments and a Negro battery were organized. The Quakers sought to remain aloof from military service. Yet the Civil War, more perhaps than any in our history, was one of highly tempered emotions. It came shortly after Kansas settlers had gone through a decade of strife and border clashes. The war was fought, in part, over slavery — the issue that had given the new state the name of "Bleeding Kansas." It would have taken superhuman qualities for Friends to keep all their young men from participation. They were not entirely successful.

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[5] Coffin, pp. 340-341.

[6] Jackson, p. 18.

[7] MS Minutes, Kansas Preparative Meeting, Dec. 3, 1862, p. 60.

The minutes of many Quaker meetings contain laments about young men who had "so far departed from our Christian Testimonies as to frequent Balls & do Military service."[7] For such offenses, Monthly Meetings appointed a committee to counsel with the miscreants and, if possible, bring them to a realization of their errors. If an offender remained firm in his obstinacy, he was read out of meeting as a last resort.

The case of one Caspar Pierce is interesting. Three men were assigned to counsel with him and report to their meeting as to any success. For almost five months the committee was unable to visit Pierce because of a disease epidemic. On May 13, 1863, they reported that Caspar Pierce had contracted a "contagious sickness" and had perished. However, they had been reliably informed that upon his deathbed he had repented his carrying weapons and "he did not conceive it possible to do so and do right, all of which is satisfactory to Friends." The case was dismissed, and he was allowed to be buried as a member in good standing.[8]

Throughout the war years there were occasional disownments for carrying weapons and military service. The limited number of such penalties is indicative of the intense loyalty with which the majority of Friends young people regarded Quaker beliefs. They quietly adhered to their pacifism and refused to bear arms, for most of them had grown to manhood imbued with the principles of their peace testimony.

This belief in peace expressed itself at all levels of their lives. One young Friend, Joab Murphy, felt the need to apologize to his Monthly Meeting because he had been tempted to strike another man. "I am sincerely sorry that I let my passion get the better of me in this way and hope the meeting will overlook my offence."[9] Thus did individual members of the Society of Friends attempt to carry out the injunction of Jesus: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself."

Within a generation Kansas Quakers' concern for such matters would be quietly laid to rest. The wave of revivalism which swept the Midwest in the years after the Civil War caught up the budding Society of Friends in Kansas and changed forever its outlook and method of religious expression.

[8] MS Minutes, Kansas Monthly Meeting, May 13, 1863, p. 77.
[9] MS Minutes, Peace Monthly Meeting, Sept. 15, 1877, p. 68.

The President of Friends Bible College, Haviland, Kansas, has written that revivalism "is the one factor which stands out prominently in explaining present day practices of Kansas Yearly Meeting." Commenting further, the Kansas Quaker states that "by 1900, so largely had the ancient Quaker characteristics been obliterated, that little real difference longer existed between Kansas Quakers and other evangelical denominations."[10] An era had passed.

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[10] Sheldon G. Jackson, "Quakers in Kansas, 1833-1900" (unpublished Master's thesis, The University of Kansas, 1946), p. 73.

THE REVIVAL MOVEMENT IN IOWA

A Letter from Joel Bean to Rufus M. Jones

Edited by HOWARD H. BRINTON

The following rough copy of a letter from Joel Bean to Rufus Jones was found among Joel Bean's papers in the possession of his grand-daughter Anna Brinton. It is not dated.[1] The original was probably written when Rufus Jones was collecting material for his *Later Periods of Quakerism* in which Joel Bean is described as "a beautiful spiritual character, a saintly soul and a favored minister of the gospel" (p. 931 n.). The letter is presented here as a contribution to a controversial subject — the conditions in the Society of Friends which brought about the introduction of the pastoral system in many areas. The statement has sometimes been made that pastors were introduced because the older ministry, based on "a fresh anointing of the Spirit," had failed and Friends sought for something more dependable and better prepared. This rehearsal of events by Joel Bean indicates that the meetings in Iowa which submitted to revivalism and subsequently employed pastors were not previously lacking in an able and inspired ministry. The pastoral system came, not because of a lack of life but because of an excess of new zeal which brought in many converts convinced of their sins, but not convinced of the principles of the Society of Friends. An emphasis on creeds required the suppression of influences at variance with the preaching of the evangelists who were aggressive and intolerant. Separations eventually occurred wherever they secured control.

Joel Bean did not sympathize with this new development but, like his friend Whittier, he preferred not to be a separatist, but to uphold the older Quakerism by his life and writings.

He was born of Quaker parents in 1825 in New Hampshire and died in Hawaii in 1914. In 1859 he married, in Philadelphia, Hannah E. Shipley, sister of Samuel R. Shipley, who founded the Provident Life and Trust Company, and daughter of Thomas Shipley, a well known abolitionist. She was as gifted and consecrated as

[1] Joel Bean always exercised great care in preparing his manuscripts for publication. Obviously, this copy was preserved only as a record.

he and, like him, a highly acceptable minister. Under a sense of Divine Guidance they went to Hawaii in 1861, where they traveled for nine months in the ministry. Ten years later, they traveled extensively with a similar concern in England, Scotland, and Ireland, and in 1882 Joel Bean accompanied Isaac Sharp in his visits to American meetings. In these journeys and others Joel Bean's ministry made a profound impression.

When Joel and Hannah Bean returned from England in 1877, the wave of revivalism was beginning to change the character of Iowa Yearly Meeting. Since he could not unite with this transformation, he and his family removed to California where, in a suburb of San José, they set up the College Park Meeting, the first independent meeting in America. Here Friends from England, Scotland, France, Japan, and members of different branches of the Society of Friends in the United States worshiped together. This meeting is still functioning. Other meetings were eventually set up in Palo Alto and Berkeley. These, with the College Park Meeting, formed the College Park Association of Friends out of which grew Pacific Yearly Meeting. Joel and Hannah Bean with their children and grandchildren were dropped from membership by Iowa Friends because they did not sympathize with the new trends in Western Quakerism. Joel Bean, having been sent a questionnaire to test his orthodoxy, answered each question with a Biblical quotation, but this did not satisfy his inquisitors, who insisted upon a yea or nay. He was later reinstated as a minister and member by the meeting in which he grew up in New Hampshire. The disownment of Joel and Hannah Bean shocked their many friends in England and gave English Friends a vivid indication of what was taking place in the only group of American Yearly Meetings which they recognized.

Joel Bean's character and ministry are remembered with affection and high regard by Friends the country over. Augustus Taber Murray of Stanford University, referring to Whittier's lines "A Quaker of the Olden Time," ends his account of Joel Bean in the *Annual Monitor* for 1915[2] with the words "In the annals of Quakerism the present writer can think of few whose intellectual and

[2] A fuller account of Joel and Hannah Bean appears in *Quaker Biographies,* Series II, Vol. III. It was written by their daughter Catharine E. B. Cox, who is still living in Honolulu at the age of ninety-six.

spiritual characters have been in more complete harmony with this ideal than was that of his dear and honored friend Joel Bean."

Rufus M. Jones,

My dear Friend, —

If I attempt, at thy request, a little sketch of the rise of the Revival movement among Friends in the West, from my point of view, the insertion of an autobiographical thread will be unavoidable, since the prime of my own life was interwoven with the history of those years.

I came from New-Hampshire to Iowa, a youth in 1853; one of the first three or four pioneers to that State from New England Yearly-Meeting. There was then but one Quarterly Meeting, that of Salem, west of the Mississippi River. In the swelling tide of emigration thither, during the next few years there was a strong element from New England. Benjamin Fry, in his old age, Olney and Wm. B. Thompson, Lindley M. Hoag, Joanna Miller, Mary T. Meader, and other ministers were among the number. Cyrus Beede, Albert and Alfred Smiley, Henry and Anna Thorndike, John and Mary Miller, Daniel and Judith Fry, Albert and Mary Tebbetts, Alvin Hoag, the Peasleys, Underwoods, Pinkhams, Deans, Robertses, Stapleses, Jepsons, Cooks, and other families, were influential factors in the growing Society.

My home was fixed at West-Branch where the little houses of first settlers were beginning to dot the unbroken prairie. A small meeting, held in a Broom-shop, had been started, of which Hannah B. Tatum was a beloved and gifted young minister. Her husband David Tatum, was not then recorded. My first home was with them, and we were bound together in a life-long friendship. The meeting grew rapidly. Springdale four miles east, was a little older, and at that time larger, where Jeremiah Grinnell, and afterwards, Samuel Lloyd, Annabella E. Winn, and Henry Rountree were ministers. Honey Grove, a few miles North East, soon became a good sized meeting. The district for miles around was mostly settled by Friends. At Muscatine and neighborhood, 25 miles distant, on the Mississippi, there were soon three meetings established constituting a Mo. Mtg. with Brinton and Amelia Darlington, the Thompsons, Tebbettses, Meaders, Peasleys, Pinkhams, Underwoods, and other New-England Friends as leading members. These two groups of meetings soon constituted Springdale Q.M. in Cedar County — the third organized in Iowa. It numbered after a few years over 1000 members, and was one of the strongest in the State. Our meeting at West Branch became one of the largest meetings. Our Springdale Mo. Mtg. numbered over 700 members.

This brief outline of the growing Society in the Prairie State is necessary to an understanding of the revival movement which followed. There are few more beautiful pictures in history than the social and religious life and meetings presented in those early years. Large meeting houses were built, and filled at monthly and Quarterly Meetings. There came to be more than twenty recorded ministers in our galleries at Q.Mt'gs, a number of them

known and honored far and wide over the Society. For successive winters, I taught the District School, when it numbered more than 50 pupils, not one of whom had been born in the State. All members & others, by common consent attended the mid-week meeting togther. They came from lovely Christian homes, trained to a standard of deportment, and fine feeling I have never seen excelled in any other school. Ask any of them now, wherever scattered, and one testimony will be borne to those happy and sheltered days at the West Branch School. The whole community was interested in it and came from miles around to the closing exercises of every term.

Quarterly meetings increased to ten, until in 1863 Iowa Y.M. was established, a united, growing and influential body. We were favored with a ministry of remarkable power. Lindley M. Hoag was in the zenith of his annointed strength. James Owen was in the prime of life, a Prince in our Israel. Elwood Ozbun swayed listening multitudes. James E. Bailey, Rodema Newlin, Joseph D. Hoag, David Hunt, and many other men and women, besides those before mentioned, of our own Quarterly meeting ministered to increasing flocks. Many of these traversed the State in all weathers, over almost trackless roads, with Gospel messages, unitedly laboring in newly forming communities for the extension of Christ's Kingdom, and the edification of the Church. There were devoted and living Elders to aid in all upbuilding and aggressive work. Such was the condition of the Society in Iowa at the beginning of the Revival movement. It was far from perfect. There was abundance of crude material; of ignorance, and of inexperience. But like the untilled prairie, it was a beautiful open field of rich soil, ready for the breaking up, and the seed sowing. The revival began with a genuine and deepening work of Grace; — a moving of the spirit of the Lord, upon the hearts of our people, over the meetings of the West as well as the East. There was a prevalent longing for a deeper Christian experience, — a clearer, higher, more victorious faith. The subjects of Holiness and Perfection were in the air, and engaging earnest attention among Christians every where. It was at this early period, 1861-2 that my wife and I (liberated by Indiana Y.M. before Iowa was set up) visited the Sandwich Islands, and there we found the same subjects, especially the possibility of perfection in this life, seriously discussed in missionary circles. Our own minds and hearts were in full sympathy with the rising tide of Christian thought and aspiration. Our dearest friends in Philadelphia were being stirred by the ardent spirit of Hannah W. Smith, Sarah F. Smiley, Anna Shipley and others in Philadelphia, Dr. Jas. C. & Mary W. Thomas of Baltimore, Robert Lindley and Ruth Murray, the Ladds in New-York. The Douglases, Enos Pray, Chas. F. Coffin and wife, Murray Shipley, and afterwards David B. Updegraff, and others in the West, in the ardor of a newly inspired faith, were profoundly impressing all within the sphere of their influence. Men and women of remarkable Evangelical and prophetic Gifts, were engaged in extensive service over the country.

Elizabeth Comstock, Stanley Pumphrey, Sarah Satterthwaite, Sybil Jones,

Rebecca Updegraff, Edith Griffith, Hannah Pearson, James Owen, Enos Pray, Lindley M. Hoag, Jeremiah Grinnell and others of England & America come to mind among the messengers sent far and wide among the Churches.

It was a period of awakening, and reviving activity. A wider outlook was dawning upon the Society. Fresh missionary zeal was being kindled. Friends were drawn out to distant lands and Foreign Missions.

Eli and Sybil Jones were led to Western Africa & Syria, and other Eastern lands. Isaac Sharp was visiting Iceland and Greenland in the beginning of his world encircling travels. Louis and Sarah Street and Joseph Sewell were called to Madagascar. Russel Jeffreys visited India, and Rachel Metcalf received a clear call to that land. She was the first Missionary sent out by the Friends Foreign Miss. Assn. of England, and was early joined by Elkanah and Irene Beard. The feet of many Messengers were turned to Norway, where there was a genuine Revival and ingathering on purely Quaker lines. It was in those years that Friends were enlisted in work among the Indians and Freedmen.

Prisons and Hospitals were being visited. It was in those years that a keen interest was aroused in Firstday Schools, and those delightful Conferences were held in Philadelphia and Wilmington, Ohio. We were all united in those days in welcoming and cherishing the Divine visitation, the evident work of the Holy Spirit upon our people. The hearts of the young people around us in Iowa, were tender, and receptive. They were loyal to our Society. They were habitual attenders of meetings for worship and discipline, and interested in First-Day schools. Most of them gave promise of future usefulness, which has been fulfilled.

I think the earliest *demonstration* of the Revival among Friends was in Indiana Y.M. one year, during its sessions, when evening meetings were held, and prolonged to late hours by an unusual number of testimonies and prayers. There had then been no departure from Friends methods in religious meetings. It was soon after our return from the Islands, that Iowa Y.M. was established in 1863, in the condition before described. For 11 terms, from 1867 to 1878, with the exception of one year when absent, I served as Clerk, supported by a unanimous voice of approval. When in 1872 my wife & I laid before it a prospect of service in England, I believe we had the unity of every Friend in our Y.M. who knew us. These personal references are necessary to an understanding of the results of the Revivalism which followed.

The first activity of the movement in Iowa was imported from Walnut Ridge, Indiana. It was attended with a great deal of wild fire, and wrought sad havoc in a few localities. It did not invade our Q.M. nor much affect the Y.M. It was attended with such excitement that women would fall down and roll upon the floor, as I saw in one meeting which I visited. The converts made extreme claims of perfection, so that some dear and valued members became so impressed with their superior Holiness, that they refused to shake hands with their old friends, who could not join with them. As

time passed on the sweep of Revivalism was promoted by more powerful leaders. J. H. Douglas, D. B. Updegraff, Dougan Clark, and Luke Woodard & others came to the front, with a change of methods, and a new basis of doctrine.

Ohio Y.M. in 1878 recorded the following minutes: "We do not believe there is any principle or quality in the soul of man, innate or otherwise, which even though rightly used, will ever save a single soul." And "we repudiate the so called doctrine of the Inner Light, or the gift of a portion of the Holy Spirit in the soul of every man, as dangerous; unsound, and unscriptural." John G. Whittier wrote to the Phila. Friend of 5 mo. 24, 1879 of these minutes. — "They seem to me an entire abandonment of the one distinctive and root principle of our Religious Society; — that from which it derives all that is peculiar to it in doctrine and testimony, & which alone gives it a right to exist." A deputation from London attended Ohio Y.M. that year. A part of them came from thence to our house, on their way to our Y.M. They were accompanied by Edward Scull, who told me that during the passage of that act, which was vigorously opposed by Prof. Hole and other members of the meeting, the English Friends sat silent. With such an issue involving the integrity of the Society, and fraught with such consequences to our Society in America, hanging in the balance, how could such silence be accounted for?

The Revival movement was now pressed forward with a new impulse with this extreme Evangelism which denied the Light of Christ within, and the possibility of salvation by any other means than the preaching of the Gospel. With this was joined the theory of entire Sanctification, instantaneously obtained by one act of faith alone. In Ohio the adoption of the outward Ordinance of Water Baptism followed as a logical outcome of this system of faith. There seemed to be a concerted effort on the part of the leaders to commit the society to these views. Yearly Meetings were packed with visitors to propagate these doctrines. And what must seem strange to future historians, almost all the Western ministers were drawn into the popular currents, and accepted them. For some years we heard few sermons from visiting Evangelists that did not warn and inveigh against the heresy of the Inward Light, or the presence of Christ in any but the converted souls. The Western Y. Mt'gs were dominated by the movement with the exception of Indiana, which with Timothy Nicholson at the helm, held a check upon these teachings and teachers. In our troubles in Iowa I was cheered and strengthened by an intimate and sympathetic correspondence with Timothy Nicholson whose friendship dated from our youth.

During these years (in response to solicitations) I wrote occasional articles for our Periodicals, upon vital issues then before us. These gave offence to the Revivalists and were the prime cause of the antipathy which arrayed itself against us, and afterwards pursued us to the Pacific Coast, and never rested until our mo. Mtg. here was laid down, and some of us were deposed as ministers, and dropped as members. Two articles especially, one on the "Light Within," in Friends Review, and the other "The

Issue" republished from the British Friend in Tract form and circulated by Friends in New York, were made the basis for the most serious charges ever raised against me. In the midst of the conflict I was sustained by true Friends at home and abroad. The elders of our Q.M. and most of the ministers stood together in unbroken unity. Such Friends of the Y.M. as Lindley M. Hoag and his brother Joseph D., Mary B. Pinkham and not a few others never wavered in doctrine, and were our firm friends. *"In the fellowship of the Spirit"* emphatically uttered, were the last words to me which I remember from the lips of Lindley M. Hoag. James Owen had passed away. Messages from Eastern Friends strengthened our hands. After almost every important article I wrote for publication some letter or message of cordial unity came to me from Eliza P. Gurney, who followed the course of events with an intelligent interest, and religious concern equaled by few of the Watchmen upon the walls.

The Revival spread. As it gained power it became intolerant of dissent. Opposition was suppressed and resistance silenced. It was thus that unity was claimed. Springdale Q.M. was the most conservative in the Y.M. If it could have had the Y.M. support it would have easily withstood the revolutionary forces. To gain ascendency in this Q.M., West Branch was the main point of attack & Revival aggression. A succession of protracted meetings here culminated in a series conducted by D. B. Updegraff. His magnetic personality and attractive theory of a short and easy way to perfection drew a large following. It was an open onslaught with a declared purpose to overcome what was claimed the false teaching of the past. In three weeks a work was wrought in that and Springdale meetings that has never been repaired. D.B.U. said that "he did not need to preach Conversion at West Branch, for that had been attended to." At the end he said "the teaching of 30 years had been revolutionized in three weeks." A large number claimed the new, second experience of entire Sanctification, and were committed by rising vote over and over again to the new doctrine taught. They regarded themselves advanced to an experience and knowledge of the truth to which no others had attained. Three out of eight resident ministers of our meeting joined the crusade. Our meeting was left in confusion. Confidence was impaired. Fellowship was broken. Beloved neighbors became estranged. Elders of long standing — nursing Fathers and Mothers in the Church — Elders of sound judgement and discernment, were powerless to stem the tide, and when the time came for reappointment were dropped because they could no longer be appointd in unity. Few could know what we passed through in that, and a few subsequent years, of the desertion of friends, of charges of unsoundness, and of heresy; and of practical displacement from position or part in the organization of our loved Society. Yet none ever had truer Frds. than we, through it all, in the most substantial part of our Q.M. and elsewhere. Few of our old Scholars ever deserted us, and those who did, for a time, have given proof since of restored confidence and affection.

The strain wore me down, and preyed upon my health. And when the

way opened for it, the pointing seemed clear to remove in 1882 to California, and to retire if possible from the conflict. A Committee was appointed in our Mo. Mtg. in usual course to prepare for us removal certificates. Some of those most bitterly opposed to us were named with others, and themselves reported that nothing could be found to prevent a clear Certificate for us as members and ministers.

That Autumn Isaac Sharp arrived in San Francisco from Australia with a desire, approved by English Friends, that I should accompany him in his visit in the United States. I felt it right to join him and was liberated by our Mo. Mtg here,[3] and went with him thro' portions of most of the Yearly Meetings in our Country. Strenuous efforts were made by Authorities in Iowa to stop me on the way, but without avail, as I was duly liberated by my own Mo. Mtg. and authorized by the choice of English Friends. The effort was decisively met by Isaac Sharp who said "Joel Bean sits at my side with a clear certificate of the unity of his Mo. Mtg. and the choice and entire approval of English Friends, *and you cant stop him.*"

As a result of the Revival movement there were divisions in the Society; and separate Y. Mtgs. formed in Western, Iowa, Kansas, and Canada. Many honored and "Pillar" Friends were thus lost to the larger bodies. I never encouraged separations nor had any part in them, believing for myself, it was better to stand true to my convictions, and to suffer the consequences *in the body,* than to *Separate from it.* At the same time, those beloved and true brethren who felt that the only course for them to maintain allegiance to our principles was in withdrawing from the "Friends Church," as it has come to be conducted, have ever had my sympathy. *I would never disown them, and I have never felt disowned by them.*[4] The Separated bodies in the West have never had justice done them, nor due consideration shown them by the Society at large. At West Branch today there is a lovely Society, and a lively and weighty meeting of conservative Friends respected and honored in the community around. Beside it is the Friends Church under Pastoral charge. There is a large and solid meeting of Norway Friends at Stavanger, Iowa and other groups in the State — fruits of an ingathering in their native land through the instrumentality of eminent Missionary laborers from England and America.

By technicalities of organization to which Quakerism is in bondage these are without the pale of recognition by the larger Y.Mtgs, while meetings conducted by Pastors, without a feature of our former mode of worship, are held in fraternal fellowship. Such a state of things is a part of the aftermath of the Revival. Now that early Revival period is in the past; it may be viewed dispassionately, and with the aid of the test of time. The sincerity and devotion of the leaders are not called in question. The truth of the Gospel which they preached was doubtless blessed to the conversion of many, and in stimulating not a few to greater consecration.

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[3] I.e., in California.

[4] (Note. The separation at West Branch occurred after we left.) — [Bean's note].

Their errors and denials of sacred truth, and their spirit of exclusiveness and intolerance have born bitter fruits. That our Society has been permanently increased, or strengthened by the movement is not proved.

That in large areas, our membership has been moved from Friends' original basis, and shorn of their distinctive message, is too evident.

A new generation has come upon the stage, to whom the controversies & animosities, the sufferings and rendings of these years are little known.

Thro' all, over all, our Lord has cared for every section of His Church. New Witnesses have been raised up; men of might and men of vision, to vindicate His truth. Larger views have been gained of the universality of His Light, and His Love. Larger hopes have dawned, of the ultimate conquest of Christ and the final triumph of His Kingdom.

Thro' surrender and sacrifice, He is leading souls into closer fellowship with His sufferings.

In the agony of human experience, He is interpreting the deeper meaning of His Cross, and revealing the higher glory of His Crown. In our little histories He is teaching great lessons for all who can learn them. He is teaching us our family relationships and our need of one another: We are weakened by divisions, and by the un-Christ-like spirit, and the wrongs that caused them. All our severed branches belong to one household, by a common calling, a common history, and a common heritage. The love that will win the world, will first seek & own our brethren. A wider vision of truth will enlarge the boundary of Christian unity. If no existing Church organization is found worthy or able to embody the fuller measure of love, the larger conception of truth, the more complete ascendency of the spirit of Christ, they will not fail of expression and representation in the world. God will give to the Church of the future a "body as it pleaseth Him."

Historical News

Friends Historical Association

The Spring Meeting of Friends Historical Association was held on Seventh Day, Fifth Month 20, 1961, at Newtown Square Meetinghouse, Pennsylvania. A sunny day for a historical pilgrimage and two notable historical anniversaries to observe filled the meetinghouse with more than a hundred members and their friends. President Howard H. Brinton, after welcoming the gathering, spoke of the two anniversaries and introduced the speakers. It was the 250th anniversary of the building of the house at Newtown Square; Hilary Conroy, a member of the meeting, spoke briefly and amusingly of its history. 1961 is also the tercentenary of the oldest Quaker Yearly Meeting, that of New England, and we had the pleasure of hearing Mary Hoxie Jones read appropriate portions of her informative history of the earliest sessions. The usual pleasant box supper followed the exercises.

* * *

Members and subscribing libraries are again reminded that when the next issue of this magazine arrives in the Spring of 1962, it will bear a new title: QUAKER HISTORY. Don't be shocked or taken aback: it will still be the BULLETIN OF FRIENDS HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION, in fact Volume LI thereof, behind a new cover.

* * *

Have you copies of the following back numbers of the BULLETIN?

Vol. IV, no. 2 (1912)
Vol. X, no. 1 (1920)
Vol. X, no. 2 (1921)
Vol. XV, no. 1 (1926)
Vol. XVI, no. 1 (1927)
Vol. XVI, no. 2 (1927)
Vol. XXX, no. 1 (1941)
Vol. XXXIV, no. 2 (1945)

Friends Historical Association needs copies of *these numbers only* to fill out complete back files for sale to libraries.

If you are willing, please send them promptly to BESS ORR HAAKINSON, Friends Historical Association, Haverford College Library, Haverford, Pa.

Book Reviews

Christian Faith and Practice in the Experience of the Society of Friends. London: London Yearly Meeting. 1960. 677 quotations, not paged. Introduction, Sources and References, Index. $2.00.

This excellent anthology reduces the London Discipline from the three volumes of the preceding edition to two, combining the former parts one and two, *Christian Life, Faith, and Thought* and *Christian Practice.* The third section, *Church Government,* remains a separate book. The former first volume consisted largely of inspirational and theological extracts from Quaker writings. Similar quotations appear in this volume with a greater variety of headings and subjects, including a larger proportion of modern writers, some of them still living. For example, the contemporary era is recognized by ten quotations on the relation of science to religion, seven which concern the arts, and three dealing with psychology. An effort is made to present a variety of points of view. George Fox's letter to the Governor of the Barbados, quoted at length in the former volume, is represented here by a brief passage regarding the Scriptures which, like the remainder of this letter, sets forth nothing uniquely Quaker. There are nine quotations from Job Scott, who did not appear in the earlier collection. These and others of similar tenor give the anthology as a whole a liberal rather than a distinctively evangelical coloring. Few, if any, important Quaker writers are left out. Most modern authors, for example Rendel Harris, Joan Mary Fry, and Inazo Nitobe are represented by one quotation each, while others are more fully represented. There are six from Thomas F. Green and seven from Edward Grubb. Robert Barclay's score is also seven.

As in the former Volume II on *Christian Practice,* the statements concerning Quaker behavior are mainly derived from London Yearly Meeting minutes and epistles and from reports of committees and conferences. These passages are often characterized by vague generalities, the common weakness of collective writing, rather than by bright gleams of originality. But in spite of the fact that their language is seldom inspiring, the pronouncements regarding simplicity, peace, proper family life, social and international responsibilities, and other virtues serve an important purpose in helping Friends to know where they stand or ought to stand. The older disciplines of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries also contained material from Yearly Meeting minutes. These were concise and definite guides to conduct with few unnecessary words. The threat of disownment of offenders, better stated as "placing judgement upon them in the authority of Truth," gave these declarations an edge which modern toleration has dulled.

The quotations from our older writers deal mainly with religious experience; from the more recent with information and advice. Modern writers, in an attempt to be inspirational, sometimes search for strong words such as "amazing," "radiant," "dynamic." The older writers with their simpler diction express what they feel more naturally and spontaneously. Friends formerly had a query about "simplicity in dress, speech and behavior." Simplicity in speech sometimes gave Quaker writing a drab quality resulting from under-statement and perhaps too much caution in the interest of telling no more than the truth. Today religious writing sometimes misses the mark by being "sicklied o'er with the pale cast of thought." A more elaborate education with its inevitable verbalism may have disqualified us for the earlier terseness.

The 677 entries, each of which is dated, with carefully prepared tables of sources and references and indexes of names and subjects, present a wider and clearer panorama of Quaker thought than can be found anywhere else. This is an indispensable book for both Quakers and others who wish to know what Quakers have believed and do believe. The reader must assume that a religion based primarily not on outward authority but on inward experience is bound to be expressed in a variety of ways and that it goes through a process of development as the Spirit gradually leads into more Truth. But this collection emphasizes the fact that Friends, while having no formal creed as a basis of membership, do hold important, positive beliefs which have not changed through the years.

Pendle Hill HOWARD H. BRINTON

The Standard of the Lord Lifted Up. By Mary Hoxie Jones. Freeport, Maine: New England Yearly Meeting Office. 1961. xiv, 161 pages. $2.25.

This valuable study, commissioned by New England Yearly Meeting and printed in a limited paperback edition, is in commemoration of the first Yearly Meeting held in New England in 1661. It is a fitting memorial of three hundred years of Quakerism. And it is especially fitting that the author should be Mary Hoxie Jones. Her father, Rufus M. Jones, had a deep affection for this Yearly Meeting, of which he was a lifelong member, and his *Quakers in the American Colonies* appeared just fifty years ago. The author's own qualifications for this task are well exemplified by this volume.

It is probably fortunate that the author found her task such a large one that she could only carry the story up to the year 1700. She has chosen to bring together the source material with "the slight recent additions to our factual knowledge" in a most useful way. There are more than three hundred references to primary and secondary sources with many brief quotations. It must be admitted that this detracts to some extent from smooth reading but enhances the permanent value of the book. The alternative must have been to write a more superficial survey of the three centuries.

The book has a certain imbalance which Henry Cadbury notes in his Foreword. This is not the fault of the author but is inherent in the imbalance of her sources. These are persecution writings, "controversial and partisan" in nature. Henry Cadbury adds, "The conflicting parties had from our present perspective much in common with each other — more than with ourselves." He is referring to the fact that both sides regarded sickness, calamity, death as "judgments" marking the divine displeasure with the opposition. He concludes, "The present day has its own instances of fanaticism, intolerance, and mutual misunderstanding. The ancient story should call our attention to these contemporary parallels rather than arouse partisan animosity or an uneasy conscience directed only to a remoter past."

One could wish that the sources shed more light on the issues raised in this study of the beginnings. To what extent, if any, were these early Friends extreme individualists, subversive of all government? Was there any justification for the Puritan charge that the Quakers minimized, if they did not negate, the historic basis of the Christian faith? Some modern historians with an inadequate grasp of the radical Quaker concept of Unity and the inward roads to its achievement tend to repeat in modern terms the ancient charges. Our author is aware of these issues, but the limitations of her approach do not permit a full discussion of them.

It is unfortunate that the printing is not worthy of the matter printed. While there are few typographical errors, the type is often poorly spaced, and this reviewer's copy lacks pages 151, 152.

Buck Hill Falls, Pennsylvania — ALEXANDER C. PURDY

Early Puritanism in the Southern and Island Colonies. By Babette M. Levy. (Reprinted from the Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society for April 1960 [LXX, 69-348]). Worcester, Massachusetts: American Antiquarian Society. 1960. $2.50.

An article of 280 pages with preface, table of contents (but no separate index), and bibliography deserves to be reviewed as a book. Such is Babette M. Levy's "Early Puritanism in the Southern and Island Colonies." We have anticipated this publication for a dozen years. (cf. this BULLETIN, XXXVIII, 110). So far as Quaker interest is concerned, we are not disappointed, though it carries the story down only to the end of the seventeenth century. Its central chapters are on Virginia, Bermuda, Maryland, the Carolinas, and the West Indies and Bahamas. Though Quakerism was later on the scene than some other forms of Puritanism, Miss Levy recognizes its claim to that name and, except in the Bahamas, it forms everywhere one of the best-documented branches. That is not saying much, however, since her sources everywhere are necessarily very fragmentary and almost accidental.

The Quaker historian will find her data on the mainland Southern colonies independent of and supplementary to James Bowden, Stephen Weeks, and Rufus Jones. But she brings together for the first time a large

quantity of data on the early Quakers in the West Indies. By dealing with Friends as parallel to the other dissenting groups she gives them a useful environmental perspective. In her last chapter she compares Southern with New England Puritanism, especially in its radical social position, political or economic, and shows how Quakerism largely took over in these areas and then prepared the way for Methodism.

Haverford, Pennsylvania HENRY J. CADBURY

Two Early Political Associations: The Quakers and the Dissenting Deputies in the Age of Sir Robert Walpole. By N. C. Hunt. Oxford: The Clarendon Press. 1961. xvi, 231 pages. 30 s.

It was the wary course that Sir Robert Walpole (1676-1745) had to tread among the sectarian loyalties of the English voters, from 1721 to 1742, which first drew the author, a Fellow of Exeter College in Oxford, to the study of his Age. The material which he unearthed led him back, however, to study the political association that took shape among the Quakers late in the 1600's, and which was copied by the Dissenting Deputies — Baptist, Presbyterian, and Independent. He discovered that these associations were precedents for those of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, notably the Anti-Corn Law League, which are better known. Persuasively, happily, the author shows it was the form and character of the political activity by Quakers, and then by the Dissenting Deputies, that helped early and greatly to set a pattern for political associations whose work further ensured the peaceful, orderly evolution of the British Constitution. Their prudent, dispassionate action is matched by his telling, but the author leaves it to the reader to remember the wrack of the religious passions that had divided, almost broken, England, and the Age of Reason that scorned the Quakers as "enthusiasts" and anarchists.

In setting up the Meeting for Sufferings, a permanent committee of twelve London Friends, in 1675, "the Quakers were consciously creating a body one of whose main functions was to make full use of their pyramidal structure to conduct a political campaign to secure political concessions." Representing, sometimes directing, the "closely linked network of Quaker cells," this lobby in London represented people, whom Parliament, in its concern for property, habitually overlooked. The lobby formed an information link between local governments and the Government in London, helping thereby to promote legislative and administrative uniformity in all parts of the Kingdom. By letters, printed fliers, articles in newspapers and gazettes, indeed most of the means that we are used to, the Quaker lobby encouraged continuing responsive awareness of legislation passed and pending, and of its implications for the Quakers. It also kept the eyes of constituents on Parliament, just at the time that regular annual sessions of Parliament were beginning to be held. This attention focussed on the House of Commons enhanced the importance of that body.

The author concentrates his story on the Quakers' campaign for an acceptable Affirmation Act and their long campaign against the Tithe Bill,

with glances at their worry over the Clandestine Marriage Bill. Enough personal detail is included to show that the complications of such effort are no less familiar than the methods. He makes it clear that many Friends did not feel easy in their minds about this path of action. Also, he asserts, with considerable documentation, that Friends' testimony against paying tithes was not upheld so faithfully by the Society as a whole as to make persecution for this delinquency as widely oppressive as Friends have frequently described it.

By 1732, the Test and Corporation Acts — which made the taking of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper according to the rites of the Church of England a prerequisite to the holding of any university, corporation, civil, or military office — had driven the ministers of the Dissenters to work for the repeal of the Acts. The lay committee they set up, the Dissenting Deputies' Committee, deliberately copied the form and the methods of the Quaker lobby. Whatever their success in shaping legislation, these bodies did succeed in shaping potent political instruments and in building up the will and the skill to use them.

The Quaker lobby worked directly with Members of Parliament, at first. But with Sir Robert Walpole, in 1721, came Cabinet Government. Suddenly their approach must be to the "Proper Person or Persons" — that is, Sir Robert. The dilemma of the Quakers and the Dissenting Deputies, who found that their only hope of right result lay in working with this pleasant and corrupt First Lord of the Treasury, who would work with them only to his own advantage, becomes an interesting story of intense exasperation, protracted but well disciplined. To work with the Opposition against the slow, the wily Walpole would, they understood, bring them no success. (The possibility that the Dissenting Deputies played their churches false is carefully discounted.)

The author holds that the political realism of the Quakers and the Dissenting Deputies and the tact of Sir Robert Walpole produced a stalemate that England needed and, at the same time, permitted the perfecting of political tools for future progress, sectarian and civil. Those tools we still employ.

Blackburn College. JOHN FORBES

Freedom from Fear: The Slave and His Emancipation. By O. A. Sherrard. New York: St. Martin's Press. 1961. 200 pages. $3.95.

A Quaker Pioneer: Laura Haviland, Superintendent of the Underground. By Mildred E. Danforth. New York: Exposition Press. 1961. 259 pages. $3.50.

Both of these volumes treat aspects of the world crusade against slavery. O. A. Sherrard's *Freedom from Fear: The Slave and His Emancipation* is actually somewhat narrower in scope than its title implies. The book consists of two distinct sections. In the first part, entitled "The Slave," the author attempts to summarize slavery from ancient times down to the early nineteenth century. Its ten chapters, which range over topics as varied as

"Sir John Hawkins," "The Trade," and "The Slave at Work," provides a very sketchy and highly generalized set of pictures. Slavery in the English colonies receives the major emphasis.

Part two, entitled "Emancipation," is primarily the story of the English reform agitation, legal decisions and Parliamentary moves which led to the 1833 statute providing for gradual compensated emancipation within the British empire. There is considerable attention given to the contributions of Granville Sharp, Thomas Clarkson, and William Wilberforce.

Freedom from Fear is a highly readable, though sketchy, account of its subject. At times the author seems to go out of his way to defend or explain British participation in slavery and the slave trade. He credits the Quakers with starting the popular reaction against slavery and leading the agitation which brought on its ultimate extinction.

Mildred E. Danforth's *A Quaker Pioneer: Laura Haviland, Superintendent of the Underground* relates the life of one of the American antislavery reformers. In 1829 Laura S. Haviland and her family moved to Michigan Territory, where she became active in the antislavery movement and assisted some fugitive slaves. She also founded Raisin Institute, a school for colored and white children. She frequently visited Cincinnati, where she helped Levi Coffin's work with the fugitive slaves in that area. During the Civil War Laura Haviland visited hospitals and distributed supplies to the freedmen.

Mildred Danforth's book is based primarily on her subject's autobiography, *A Woman's Life Work,* which appeared in 1887, but it is more coherent and better organized than the original. However, the author has accepted the facts in the reminiscent account without critical evaluation, and has borrowed, as well, its abolitionist point of view. The book describes a saintly person with virtually no shortcomings. In its pages the institution of slavery emerges as wholly evil, managed by a southern ruling class devoid of charity or honor. It adds very little to our knowledge of Laura Haviland and perpetuates an oversimplified picture of both slavery and the movement against it.

Grove City College LARRY GARA

The Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground Railroad. By Larry Gara. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press. 1961. 201 pages. $5.00.

The subtitle, "The Legend of the Underground Railroad," discloses the theme of *The Liberty Line.* Here, in summary, is the story of the Legend, with corrections as Dr. Gara sees them:

Slaves in the Ante-Bellum South Universally Yearned for Freedom. On the contrary, for most Southern Negroes slavery as a way of life offered the best alternative they knew or cared for. When they did run away, usually on impulse or to escape punishment, they took to the woods or the swamp, or even to the Southern city, rather than risk the dangerous journey towards the North Star and the unknown perils of free soil and Canada.

In the Legend the Northern, White — often Quaker — Abolitionist Occupies the Hero's Role. In fact, fugitive slaves themselves usually planned

and largely executed their own escape, with little or no help from anyone. Other slaves or free Negroes gave much more assistance to fugitives than did white people, North or South.

The Legend Portrays Slaveowners and Slavecatchers as Evil Demons. In real life Southern opinion and policy on slavery covered a wide range of human feeling and action. Many Southerners voluntarily manumitted their slaves, some even re-settling them on free soil outside the South. The Legend disregards the human factor in slaveholding, and in the processes of flight, pursuit, capture, or escape.

Righteous New Englanders and Mid-Westerners of New England Stock Usually Conducted the Railroad. Wicked Southerners Denounced it. Or, from the Southern Point of View: the Underground Demonstrated Yankee Lawlessness and Lack of Respect for the Constitution. Such stereotypes simply fed the fires of abolitionist and proslavery propaganda, Northern and Southern alike.

The Words "Quaker" and "Underground Railroad Operator" Can almost Be Used as Synonyms. Some Quakers, particularly in Delaware, Southeastern Pennsylvania, and Indiana, assisted fugitive slaves on their way northward, but even more opposed such doings as unlawful and creaturely activity. The leading Quaker spirits in the Underground often found themselves at odds with their more conservative brethren on this point: witness Isaac T. Hopper's disownment in New York in 1842, and the expulsion of Levi Coffin and his "Antislavery Friends" from Indiana Yearly Meeting in the antislavery separation of the same year. Other religious groups, especially Reformed Presbyterians (Covenanters) and Wesleyan Methodists, also had a high ratio of participation in the Underground Railroad. Hardly any of the so-called "martyrs," especially those who went to jail in the South for enticing Negroes to run away, proved to be Friends. For that matter, enticement of Southern slaves played little part in the Railroad's activities; most operators confined themselves to their own localities, and simply to helping runaways who turned up in their own neighborhoods.

The Operators of the Underground Ran Great Risks. Facts disprove this. An escaping slave did expose himself to privation and the possibility of recapture and punishment; but his Northern, white helper had comparatively little to lose in the affair, for the local community usually tolerated if not supported the Underground's humane activities. Many of those conductors who did have to stand trial and pay fines, such as Thomas Garrett in Wilmington, Delaware, did so because they publicized their activities openly as a part of their antislavery campaign.

By Carrying its Passengers to the Promised Land, the Underground Railroad Prompted the Passage of the Infamous Fugitive Slave Law of 1850, and Helped Rouse the North to Fighting Pitch when the War of Emancipation Came in 1861. As for the "Promised Land," neither the distant North nor cold Canada, but warm Africa occupied the dreams of most discontented Southern Negroes, as witness the 12,000 who migrated to Liberia under the auspices of the American Colonization Society. Also, the role of the

Underground in precipitating the Civil War has been grossly exaggerated.

Intricate Organization, Great Secrecy, Signs and Passwords, Secret Hiding Places, and Daring Rescues Made up the Stock in Trade of the Road. No national organization existed, certainly not south of the Mason and Dixon Line; only local "Vigilance Committees" functioned from time to time in the North, and few escaping slaves knew of these groups in advance of their stumbling upon them in the course of their flight.

* * *

In other words, the popular Legend, originated and embellished by Northern abolitionists for purposes of antislavery propaganda; exaggerated by Southern politicians and newspapers to help create resistance to Northern policies; endowed with immortality by Harriet Beecher Stowe; amplified after the War by Republican wavers of the Bloody Shirt, by glowing reminiscences of aging participants, and by the countless stories of local newspapers and antiquarians; perpetuated by too many historians unable to divorce themselves from the prejudices of the Civil War; and grossly fictionalized by modern novelists and propagandists in the present-day tension over integration, has puffed up the mythical Railroad to greatly inflated proportions. Professor Gara's book corrects this popular image of hundreds of thousands of fugitive Negroes being speeded to Canada by tens of hundreds of (usually Quaker) conductors.

To those who, as Dr. Gara points out, have read their Channing and their Nevins, and to those Friends who have carefully reviewed the attitude of American Quakers toward slavery and antislavery, this correction will hardly prove necessary. In fact, the true story of the Underground seems more credible than the fantasies of the Legend. For the Legend had gotten out of hand.

By its very nature the Underground Railroad, a secret affair outside the law, lent itself, like the original Ku Klux Klan, to the telling of exciting stories which helped to bolster up a cause. Furthermore, the contrast between Quaker antipathy to violence and Quaker rescues of fugitive slaves has intrigued both propagandist and story-teller alike. Actually, the great body of conservative, quietistic Friends of the ante-bellum era preferred to work within the law rather than otherwise. Even Whittier and Lucretia Mott, while rejoicing in the escape of an occasional bondsman who came within their ken, gave their chief energies to the antislavery cause as such rather than to the Undergroud Railroad. Furthermore, although *The Liberty Line* does not stress this, the Quaker's greatest contribution to the cause of the slave came in the form of their early "Abolition Societies," which Friends organized in Eastern centers such as Philadelphia during the period from the Revolution to the 1830s, and which set a pattern for assisting free Negroes whose freedom might be in jeopardy, and for occasional but usually legal aid, to fugitive slaves. In so doing, Friends helped lay the ground for, although they largely shrank from participating in, the later "Anti-slavery Societies," which scorned the Constitution, flouted the Fugitive Slave Law, and helped precipitate the Civil War.

Ample footnotes in Professor Gara's book testify to his wide-ranging search for evidence. One regrets, however, the absence of a bibliographical essay which would have provided a compact guide to source materials on the actual Underground Railroad and its Legend.

Haverford College THOMAS E. DRAKE

Two Trends in Modern Quaker Thought: A Statement of Belief. By Albert Fowler. Wallingford, Pennsylvania: Pendle Hill Pamphlet 112. 1961. 32 pages. 35¢.

How They Became Friends. By Howard H. Brinton. Wallingford, Pennsylvania: Pendle Hill Pamphlet 114. 1961. 32 pages. 35¢.

Albert Fowler is a new author in the Pendle Hill stable, with challenging and sometimes fighting words. Howard Brinton is again saying better the irenic words he has so long said so well.

Brinton belongs to Fowler's third group, of church statesmen in the middle, Pauline tradition, who prefer the "mercy of personal debate" and a "continuing conversation" of Jewish and Gentile Christians for the sake of joint action, to the great evils of schism. Howard Brinton asks how we can learn from the experience of earlier Friends' encounters with the Spirit, and how they supported those who had encountered it. His answer is in Plutarch's vein. We learn of God's dealings with man through history and biography better than when we take our spirits straight through logic and theology. Fowler, although informed by a sound understanding of Friends' history, refers to no person except Fox and Penn between Jesus and half a dozen of our contemporaries.

The liberal "group" of Quakers, according to Fowler, thinks in universal, abstract, critical, uncommitted, seeking, impersonal, eclectic and fuzzy terms. Those affected by popular neo-orthodoxy in these "post-Christian" times have a concrete, committed, finding, personal, historically based and consistently insider's faith in a realizable God. But Fowler explains this abstractly, while Brinton, with his focus on public Friends and their journals, is concrete. For purposes of theory and analysis, consistency and sharp distinctions are desirable. For purposes of social action, inconsistencies and ambiguities are unavoidable. (Witness the difference between what we plan and what we do; between the book of discipline and an honest report on the state of society.)

Paul's mystical, evangelical, and theological treatise to the Romans, especially xii, and especially his figure of the body of Christ, should remind us that in the days when Quakerism had greatest power it combined mystical, evangelical, and rational "trends." As long as there are such examples as these pamphlets of continuing vitality in the body of Christ, it is incorrect to speak of the "post-Christian" era. I am thankful to Howard Brinton for reminding me that the old journals reveal the essentials of Christian growth, and to Albert Fowler's fair exposition, which shows that differences can be faced publicly in the harmonious spirit of Romans xii.

University of Vermont THOMAS BASSETT

Briefer Notices

By HENRY J. CADBURY

Howard H. Brinton contributes to a series of articles in *Religion in Life,* XXIX (1960), marking the half-century since Edinburgh (1910), one on "The World Council and the Creedless Church" (pp. 383-393). Writing for one sector of Quakerism, he explains how difficult it has been for such a group in all sincerity and good conscience to join the World Council. This useful article points up some of the quandaries of Quakerism and indeed of Protestantism. It has been separately reprinted by Friends General Conference.

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Cecil D. Eby, Jr., writing on "Whittier's 'Brown of Ossawatomie' " in the *New England Quarterly,* XXXIII (1960), 452-461, deals with two episodes attributed in the poem to the last hours of Brown's life. He did not kiss a colored child on the way to execution nor was he attended at the gallows by a slave mother and her children. By including these unhistorical traits in his poem Whittier was destined to be understood as approving Brown's action, which as a pacifist he never did sanction. Eby shows, however, where Whittier got his misinformation.

* * *

Of interest to Friends is a recently discovered manuscript of an English ode in imitation of Horace's *Integer vitae* (Odes i.22) honoring John Bartram, whose innocence would protect him from beast and savage in his travels. It was apparently written by his friend and fellow Quaker Joseph Breintnall and in his handwriting. The false attribution of this manuscript to Benjamin Franklin and the probability that it came from James Madison led Whitfield Bell, Jr., and Ralph L. Ketcham, in collaboration as editors of Franklin's and Madison's papers respectively, to discuss the matter in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* LXXXIII (1959), 446-451.

* * *

A Quaker Boy Growing Up: Memories of Life on the Farm and Around the World is the title of a book by Charles Allen Rowe (New York: Exposition Press, 1961, 170 pages). This is a "folksy" story in which the author depicts memories of his own life and of his family, and also of happenings during the period, that impressed him. He is a Friend born in Bucks County, Pennsylvania, an active member of his Monthly, Quarterly, and Yearly Meetings, who has traveled extensively in the United States and abroad. Unfortunately, there are errors in some dates, names, and facts about the Society of Friends.

A well-documented and interesting *Historical Sketch of Grange Meeting* in County Tyrone, Ireland, was compiled by George R. Chapman (28 pages, illustrations) and issued in connection with the tercentenary in 1960. A feature which other such histories could well copy is a description of the meeting in 1960 and a list of its members. This meeting near Dungannon, also described as Upper Grange or "beyond Charlemont," became one of the most important in Ulster. In 1657 a Robert Turner, perhaps the correspondent of William Penn of that name, convinced some people there. Many of the Irish immigrants to Pennsylvania came from this meeting, and in 1778 they raised a sum of money for relief of Friends in Pennsylvania and elsewhere. They themselves had also suffered in war and received help in 1692, including £100 from Barbados. The pamphlet quotes from minutes what can be learned of the building of Grange meetinghouse as well as about persecution and misdemeanors of members.

* * *

The Story of the Old Quaker Meeting House at Dolobran, and the Rise of the Quaker Faith in Mid-Wales is printed without place or date (Foreword reads "Birkenhead, June, 1959", 24 pages) as told by George H. Edwards. The presentation is simple and effective. The house, built in 1700 in a singularly remote spot on Dolobran, the estate of the Lloyd family, with a burial ground close by, was abandoned about 1780, until it was repaired and re-opened in the 1950's. Charles Lloyd is a central figure in the early story, brother of the Pennsylvania statesman, Thomas Lloyd. The diaries of Richard Davies and John Kelsall supply information. Persecution, emigration, and unsuccessful iron founding enter the rather sombre narrative.

* * *

Memoirs of a Quaker Childhood in Ireland and Pennsylvania is an intimate picture of the family of Joshua Jacob, who, though he died at forty-three, had built up a substantial business, begotten fourteen children, and taken step after step toward extreme Quaker conscientiousness. Written by the late Louisa M. Jacob, one of the children, and edited by her sister-in-law Caroline N. Jacob (mimeographed, 27 pages, 1960), this reminiscent record presents the flavor of strict Quaker history as few more general or formal writings can do.

* * *

In his article on "William Penn and the Socinians" in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography,* LXXXIII, (1959), 369-381, Vincent Buranelli collects the evidence of a friendship developing into a feud between William Penn and Thomas Firmin, a crypto-Socinian, with his associate Henry Hedworth. While both sides agreed in opposing the doctrine of the Trinity and were so far sympathetic, Penn accepted and the others denied the divinity of Christ. Thus initial likeness and perhaps mutual efforts to convert each other ended in recriminations, and, between Penn and Hedworth, in a war of pamphlets in 1672-73.

Arthur G. Dorland has published a pamphlet on *Recent Developments in Canadian Quakerism* (n.p., n.d., 32 pages, obtainable from Friends House, 60 Lowther Avenue, Toronto 5, Ontario). It serves to bring down to date his authoritative *History of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Canada* (1927). He relates intimately and in detail what he calls "a Quaker ecumenical movement," which in three decades has brought together three yearly meetings of diverse or hostile background into one united non-pastoral Yearly Meeting cooperating with other Friends in thought and service.

* * *

Miriam K. Starkman writing in *Journal of the History of Ideas,* XX, (1959), 403-412, on "Quakers, Phrenologists, and Jonathan Swift," has brought to attention a scarce anonymous American satire on religion entitled *Tale of a Tub: Part Second,* (Philadelphia, 1826) by Democritus Americanus. The author is not so skilful as Jonathan Swift whose *Tale of a Tub* (1704) suggests both the title and the subject matter—abuses in religion. His sympathy with Quakerism personified in Broadbrim is unmistakable, but, as is often the case, it was due to his antipathy to both Popery and the "enthusiasm" of the Great Awakening.

* * *

The Balderston Family, Colora Branch, edited by Ruth B. Lippincott (Colora, Maryland, 1959, 260 pages) is well described in the subtitle as "a short history of Lloyd and Catharine Canby Balderston of Colora, Maryland, and their children, told by their children and grandchildren, with some genealogical records." It is an account of a typical, mainly rural, Quaker family over the last century and a half.

* * *

Willard Heiss, our industrious fellow member, has prepared a mimeographed copy of *Nathaniel Newlin's Trip to Indiana, 1819* (Indiana Quaker Records, Indianapolis, 1960). It is largely day-by-day record of stopping places and distances, hosts, or meetings attended. Nathaniel Newlin (1768-1867) lived then in Orange County, North Carolina. In 1826 he moved to Bloomingdale, Indiana. This journey was apparently as an elder or companion to two women Friends and occupied nearly four months. They went out via Western Pennsylvania and returned via Kentucky. They attended Ohio Yearly Meeting, as did Elias Hicks, who is mentioned, and at Lick Creek they spent a long time visiting families.

* * *

Grandeur on the Appoquinimink (Newark, Delaware: Delaware University Press, 1959, 146 pages, illustrated) by John A. Sweeney is an exhaustive analysis of the Corbit House at Odessa, Delaware and its history. It was built in 1772 by William Corbit, restored and furnished by H. Rodney Sharp, and turned over in 1958 to the Winterthur Corporation. Corbit was a birthright Friend, disowned in 1772, but in 1791 he married his fourth wife in a Friends meeting.

John J. Zimmerman's article on "Benjamin Franklin and the Quaker Party, 1755-56" in *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3rd Series, XVII (1960), 291-313, deals with the delicate and complicated crisis by which, under Franklin's leadership of the "Quaker" party, both pacifist Quakerism and the Proprietary Party lost influence in the Pennsylvania assembly.

* * *

John Bakeless in his *Turncoats, Traitors and Heroes* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1959) deals mostly with British and American spies in America during the American Revolution. Two Quakers of Philadelphia are included: Lydia Darragh on the American side and Samuel Wallis on the British.

* * *

In *Church History,* XXIX (1960), 167-186, David E. Swift writes of "Charles Simeon and J. J. Gurney: A Chapter in Anglican Quaker Relations." The common element of these unlikely bedfellows — a high Church Episcopalian and a "decided Friend"—was the current evangelicalism of early nineteenth-century England. The friendship made each suspect in his own denomination, yet each exercised major influence therein.

* * *

About 1855 Quakers established a colony on Lake Independence in Hennepin County, Minnesota. Such family names as Coffin, Cox, Hinshaw, Lindley, etc., were represented. They built no Quaker meetinghouse, and few of their descendants now have Quaker connections. These facts are reported by Avery Stubbs in *Hennepin County History* (Summer, 1960), pp. 13-15, in an article entitled "The Quaker Settlers from Ohio and Indiana."

* * *

English Studies (Amsterdam), XLI, No. 3 (June 1960) has an article on "English Grammars in Dutch and Dutch Grammars in English in the Netherlands before 1800" by G. Scheurweghs, in which William Sewel's lexicographical works are duly included: 3 items, 25 editions, with bibliographical analysis and locations (pp. 152-161). Apparently no effort is made, as with the other scholars, to add to the biographical data available. The author criticizes as very inaccurate the information about W. Sewel's linguistic activities in William I. Hull, *Willem Sewel of Amsterdam* (1933).

* * *

"Early Pressure Groups: The Quakers and Dissenters," by Norman Hunt, a B.B.C. broadcast printed in *The Listener,* Vol LXIV (October 20, 1960), No. 1647, pp. 676-678, deals with the Quakers and Dissenting Deputies in their political campaigns in the early eighteenth century. Of the former it is said that "they were perhaps the first fully organized and effective pressure group of the modern kind in English history." These groups, even when not successful, gave their members invaluable experience and training in the practices of democratic action and helped "insure that Britain achieved democracy without having to run the gauntlet of violent revolu-

tion." This article, which was reprinted in the *Friend* (London) December 16, 1960, is a summary of part of a book on the same subject recently published by Oxford University Press.

* * *

J. Reaney Kelly is the author of a historical article on an "Old Quaker Burying Ground: West River Quaker Burial Ground, Anne Arundel County, Maryland," in *Maryland Historical Magazine,* LV (1960), 334-45.

* * *

Theodore Thayer has published now (cf. this BULLETIN XLV [1956], 40) a full-length biography, *Nathanael Greene, Strategist of the American Revolution* (New York: Twayne Publishers, 1960, 500 pages). Naturally the Quaker element is slight since little is known of Greene's early life and he was disowned by East Greenwich Monthly Meeting, Rhode Island, in 1773 (p. 40). None of his later contacts or correspondence with Friends is mentioned.

* * *

Fred Landon writes on "A Pioneer Abolitionist in Upper Canada," in *Ontario History,* LII (1960), 77-83. He tells of Benjamin Lundy's journey to Upper Canada in 1832 to find places where fugitive slaves might settle.

* * *

Apparently intended for teen-agers, but carefully using much historical material, is the book *America's First Woman Astronomer: Maria Mitchell* by Rachel Baker and Joanna Baker Merlen, (New York: Julian Messner, Inc., 1960, 192 pages). Over against the fictional element one notices the full bibliography and index. There is due recognition given to Maria's Quaker background and its enduring effects upon her.

* * *

Michael Quane has supplied in the *Journal* of the Royal Society of Antiquaries of Ireland, LXXXIX (1959), 59-89, an account of "Friends Provincial School of Mountmellick" from its founding in 1786 to 1855, when it became a girls' school (dissolved in 1920). In the absence of a good collective study of Quaker education in Ireland, this well documented installment is to be welcomed. It should be corrected by the note in the *Journal of the Friends' Historical Society,* XLIX (1960), 183.

* * *

Under the heading "Society of Friends Lists Record Keepers," the *Genealogical Helper* (George B. Everton, publisher, Logan, Utah) has published (XIV [1960], 213, 217) a revised version of the "Guide to the Location of American Meeting Records," compiled by Lyman W. Riley and Frederick B. Tolles and originally published in this BULLETIN (XL [1951], 33-37). The information has been brought up to date by the second of the two original compilers.

* * *

The Nassau County Historical Journal often has articles on Long Island Quakerism, such as one in the Winter 1961 issue (XXII, 1-15) by Marion F. Jackson on "Old Jericho and its Quakers."

Living Waters Flow West: A History of Friends Churches Established in California by T. Eugene Coffin (printed by the author, n.d., 89 pages, illustrations) relates some of the history of California Yearly Meeting, beginning with the migration to the West Coast of Quakers from Kansas, Iowa, and other states in the 1870's. The sense of mission, the dedication to an ideal to be nurtured in a strange new world, is somewhat reminiscent of the planting of the "Holy Experiment" in Pennsylvania. Quaker colonies were started in San José in northern California and in Pasadena and El Modena in Southern California before the establishment of the most flourishing community, Whittier, in 1887. The study is uneven in its emphasis, touching here and there on events from 1873 to the present, and placing undue importance upon a doctrinal controversy at Huntington Park. The bibliography mentions too few good secondary sources.

* * *

The *Bulletin* of the Old Dartmouth Historical Society and Whaling Museum for Summer, 1960, contains a three-and-a-half-page article entitled "Quaker Fragments — 'Weet and sum Chaf'." It describes and quotes from two collections in the Museum — a well-documented genealogical work by Humphrey Henry Howland Crapo Smith and a group of manuscripts of the Smith family of Dartmouth, Massachusetts. Most of the quotations relate to Quaker activities in the New Bedford area. It is suggested that Bishop George Berkeley, the idealist philosopher, had some influence on Rhode Island Friends during and after his stay in Newport from 1728-1730.

* * *

The pamphlet, *Mary S. McDowell: Peace Crusader,* a biographical sketch, by Anna L. Curtis (New York Monthly Meeting, c. 1960, 43 pages and portrait), is a vivid testimonial to the life of a peace crusader. Born in 1876, she taught school, mostly in New York, from 1900 to 1943. A noteworthy feature of her career was her dismissal in 1918 from her teaching because she would not actively support the war. Few Friends of recent generations have so fully identified their lives with consistent support of the Society of which they were members.

* * *

Brigadier O. F. G. Hogg, CBE, is the author of an address on his great, great, great, grandfather "William Penn and his Descendants" *(The Genealogists Magazine,* XIII (1959-60), 115-119, 133-142). There are some errors and no new information in the main part of the article. Towards the end a little unfamiliar information about some of Penn's descendants is given.

* * *

Quakers of Leiston: A Story of Friends and their Meeting House (Leiston Abbey Press, 1960, 16 pages) was published in connection with the tercentenary of the meetinghouse. It is a modest detailed account of local and personal interest, a sample of the annals of British Quakerism during the first fifty years of persecution and of the last century.

M. D. Clubb, Jr., contributed to *American Speech,* XXXV (1960), 252-260, an essay on "The Second Personal Pronoun in *Moby Dick.*" He recognizes the possibility that Ahab's use of *thou* instead of *you* is due to Quaker influence at Nantucket, whether Ahab is a Quaker or not, but he finds that he uses *thou* in apostrophe while other characters use *you* for the singular and for the indefinite pronoun. The article leaves the present reader with many misgivings as to its correct understanding of Melville's stylistic technique.

* * *

The Fabius who wrote *The Letters of a Farmer in Pennsylvania* in 1767-68 was close to Friends, whether or not officially in membership or politically consistent with their views. Therefore Richard M. Gummere's "John Dickinson, the Classical Penman of the Revolution," is worth citing here (*Classical Journal,* LII, 1956, 81-88). Paralleling his many other studies in classical influence on the statesmen of the American Revolution, Dr. Gummere illustrates the abundant use of Greco-Roman illustrations and quotations throughout the important writings of John Dickinson.

* * *

The "Civil War Diaries of Anna M. Ferris" are edited by Harold B. Hancock in *Delaware History,* IX (1961), 220-264, with portrait. The excerpts show a knowledge and interest concerning military and political affairs on the part of a fifty-year-old practicing member of a notable Quaker family.

* * *

Daisy Newman is the author of a pageant of twelve scenes (55 pages), covering three centuries of New England Quaker history, printed by the Yearly Meeting for presentation at its sessions in June, 1961. Its title is John Woolman's phrase ". . . the business of our lives."

* * *

John C. Hepler publishes in the *New England Quarterly,* XXXIV (1961), 93-95, "'Gordon' — a New Whittier Poem." This 32-line piece was overlooked earlier, though it was known that Whittier admired "Chinese" Gordon. John Bright advised Whittier against writing on him, and at first the poet had deferred the task to Tennyson.

Articles in Quaker Periodicals

By LYMAN W. RILEY

Friends Journal

Mary Sullivan Patterson, in "Rescuing the Caleb Pusey House," tells something of the life of this early Friend who lived near what is now Chester, Pa. William Penn was a frequent visitor at his home. — April 1, 1961, pp. 138-139.

Letter from the Past No. 187 refers to attempts to defend the pastoral system in Quakerism and to cite Fox, Penn, and Barclay as supporters of participation in war, as "Bending History to Suit the Present." — May 15, 1961, pp. 209-210.

"New England Yearly Meeting Celebrates Tercentenary" by George A. Selleck tells briefly of the first general meeting of American Friends at Newport, Rhode Island, in June, 1661. — June 1, 1961, pp. 231-232. (See also *Quaker Life,* June, 1961, pp. 160-161). Mary Hoxie Jones tells this same story in much more detail in "The Standard of the Lord Lifted Up." — June 15, 1961, pp. 254-256.

"Liberty Bell — Quaker Relic" is Letter from the Past No. 188. The famous bell was ordered from England in 1751 by a Friend, Isaac Norris II, Speaker of the (Quaker) Assembly. He chose its inscription to celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of William Penn's charter of 1701. — July 1, 1961, p. 274.

J. C. Long, in "George III, a Friend of Friends," writes of the respect this unfortunate monarch had for Quaker doctrine. He knew some Friends well, including Patience Wright, Thomas Shillitoe, and the Barclay family. — July 1, 1961, pp. 274-275.

Journal of the Friends' Historical Society

"The Trial of Thomas Salthouse and Miles Halhead" at Plymouth in 1655 is described in detail by A. D. Selleck. He prints verbatim much of the evidence presented in court.—XLIX (1960), 137-147.

Alfred W. Braithwaite contributes a comprehensive discussion of "Early Tithe Prosecutions: Friends as Outlaws." He describes the cumbersome legal procedures needed to collect tithes from Friends. These, sometimes aggravated by personal vindictiveness, greatly increased their sufferings. The case of William Moxon, who was imprisoned for twenty-two years, is given through a paper he himself wrote in 1684.—XLIX (1960), 148-156.

Quaker Life

Arthur O. Roberts outlines "The Beliefs of George Fox" as they relate to Christ, revelation, perfection, and the church. — Feb., 1961, pp. 32-34.

GENERAL INDEX

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GENERAL INDEX

Bulletin of Friends Historical Association
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A

ABBOTT, Grace *49* 47
ABINGTON, Pa., article on John Barnes of, noticed *49* 125
ABOLITIONISTS *47* 26, 27; article on, noticed *49* 62.
ABOLITIONISTS. *See also* Slavery
ACADEMY of Music, Philadelphia *46* 9
ACCLES, Ann *47* 4
ACCLES, Richard *47* 4
Ackworth School, by Elfrida Vipont, reviewed *50* 57-58
ADAMS, John *48* 39
ADAMS, John, pres. U. S. *49* 83
ADDAMS, Jane, article on, noticed *49* 127
ADRIAN Quarterly Meeting, Mich. *47* 100
ADULT study group, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting *49* 6
ADVICES and Queries, London Yearly Meeting, article on, noticed *46* 127; of Nicholites *47* 8-9
AFFLECK, Thomas, furniture maker *47* 68, 69-70, 70*n*
AFRICA *48* 16; article on Fowell Buxton and, noticed *47* 61
AIX-LA-CHAPELLE, Treaty of *48* 8
ALBRIGHT family *48* 144
ALDAM, Thomas *47* 64, 123
ALDERFER, E. Gordon, ed. *The Witness of William Penn,* reviewed *46* 120-121; articles on James Logan, noticed *46* 125
ALDERSON, Harrison *48* 51, 51*n*, 52
ALDRICH, Ruth I., research in progress on Charles Lloyd *47* 49
ALDRICH, Thomas Bailey *50* 38, 40
ALDRICH family *48* 122
ALEXANDER, Catherine *48* 23, 40
ALEXANDER, George William *48* 23, 40
ALEXANDER, Gracie L., research in progress on Friends Neighborhood Guild, Philadelphia *49* 117
ALGIERS, article on Thomas Hutson in, noticed *50* 64
ALL Friends Conference, 1920 *49* 15-16; on League of Nations *46* 93-94, 97
ALLEE, Warder Clyde *49* 35; memoir of, noticed *47* 59
ALLEN, Charles *48* 33, 33*n*
ALLEN, William, of England *48* 10
ALLEN, William, Negro evangelist *46* 47, *47* 94-105
ALLEN's Corner, Can. *50* 68, 73
ALLINSON, Rebecca *48* 59, 60
ALLINSON, Samuel *48* 38, 38*n*, 39
ALLINSON, William James *48* 38, 38*n*, 59, 60, 60*n*.
ALLIS, Thomas *48* 22
ALLISTON, William *48* 121
ALSOBROOK, William Aubrey, dissertation on mysticism of Rufus M. Jones, noticed *47* 46
ALSOP, Ann *49* 84, 94
ALSOP, George *49* 92
ALSOP, Hannah *49* 91-92, 94
ALSOP, John *49* 84, 85, 87, 89, 90, 94
ALSOP, Judith *49* 84, 92
ALSOP, Mary *49* 84
ALSOP, Othniel, article on his letter book *49* 84-95
ALSOP, Rebecca *49* 92
ALSOP, Robert (of Eng.) *49* 84, 85*n*, 93 95
ALSOP, Robert (of America) *49* 92
ALSOP, Sarah *49* 94
ALSOP, Scrivener *49* 84
ALSOP, Thomas *49* 94
ALTHORPE, Lord *49* 108
ALTMAN, W. Forrest, "John Woolman's Reading of the Mystics" *48* 103-115
AMEMIYA, Tsuyoshi, research in progress on Whittier *47* 49
AMERICAN. and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society *48* 39
American Friend 49 9

AMERICAN Friends Service Committee *48* 15, *49* 15-16, 57, 127; research in progress on *46* 46, *50* 52; article on, noticed *49* 61
"AMERICAN Quaker Pacifism and the Peace Settlement of World War I," by William D. S. Witte *46* 84-98
AMERICAN Relief Administration *48* 17, *49* 16
AMES, William *47* 35*n*, 123; article on, noticed *49* 61
AMESBURY Meeting, Mass., article on, noticed *48* 79
AMYRAUT, Moïse, article on, noticed *46* 56
ANDERSEN, Alfred F., research in progress on the Inner Light *47* 49
ANDERSON, Ann *47* 4
ANDERSON, James *47* 4
ANNAN, N. G., study of British Quaker families, noticed *47* 120
ANSCOMBE, Francis C., research in progress on Friends in North Carolina *46* 46; *I Have Called You Friends: The Story of Quakerism in North Carolina,* reviewed *49* 121-122
ANSLEY, Benjamin *46* 18
ANSLEY, Thomas *46* 18
ANTHONY, Susan B., biography of, by Lutz, reviewed *48* 134-135; and Elizabeth Cady Stanton, article on, noticed *49* 58
Anti-Corn Law League, by Norman McCord, noticed *49* 56
ANTI-QUAKERISM. See Quakerism
APOCRYPHA, article on Friends and, noticed *47* 62
ARBITRATION *48* 11
ARCH Street Meeting, Philadelphia *46* 3, *48* 36*n*
ARCHIVES, Quaker, article on, noticed *46* 126
ARGONIA Meeting, Kansas, history of, noticed *49* 125
ARMIT, Joseph *47* 69
ARMIT, Stephen *47* 69
ARMITAGE, Walter *47* 100*n*, 105
ARMSBY, Ruth L., article on Isaac Penington's *A Word for the Common Weale,* noticed *50* 64
ARNETT, Ethel Stephens, history of Greensboro, N. C., noticed *49* 126
ARNOLD, Edwin *46* 109, 109*n*
ARNOLD, Ralph, article on Herbert Hoover, noticed *47* 120
ARNOLD, Thomas *46* 109, 109*n*
"ARTICLES in Quaker Periodicals," by Lyman W. Riley *46* 62-64, 127, *47* 62-64, 122-123, *48* 79-80, 143-144, *49* 63, 127-128, *50* 62-64, 128
ARTISTIC tastes, Quaker, article on, noticed *48* 79
ARTS, article on Quakerism and the, noticed *49* 124
ASHFIELD, Henry *46* 18
ASHLEY family, Vermont *50* 72
ASHMORE, Frederick *46* 18
ASKEW, Parker, *48* 54
ASWELL, Mary Louise, story of Quaker grandmother, noticed *46* 60
ATKINSON, Lydia *46* 72
ATLEE, Edith W. *46* 71, 72
AUDLAND, John *46* 63, *47* 64
AUSTIN, Nicholas *50* 74; research in progress on *48* 64
AUSTIN, Richard *46* 18
AUSTIN family, Canada *50* 74
AYERS, William *46* 15
AYRES, John *46* 11

B

BABBIDGE, Homer D., Jr., dissertation on Swarthmore College, noticed *47* 46
BACK Creek Meeting, N. C. *49* 21
BACKHOUSE, Jonathan *48* 55
BACKHOUSE family *47* 64
BACON, Margaret H., history of Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, noticed *49* 126
BAIGELL, Matthew, research in progress on Owen Biddle *48* 131
BAILEY, Gamaliel *48* 33, 33*n*, 35
BAILEY, James E. *50* 105
BAILEY, Maurice H., research in progress on Friends in Birmingham, Eng. *46* 46
BAILY, Ezra, article on, noticed *47* 117
BAILY, Joshua *46* 4
BAINTON, Roland H., reviews *The Beginnings of Quakerism,* by Braithwaite, second ed. *46* 50-51
BAKELESS, John, *Turncoats, Traitors and Heroes,* noticed *50* 124
BAKER, Rachel, biography of Maria Mitchell, noticed *50* 125
BAKER, Sarah W. *46* 69, 73
BALD, F. Clever *46* 103*n*
BALDERSTON, Catharine Canby *50* 123
BALDERSTON, John L. *49* 84*n*
BALDERSTON, Lloyd *50* 123
BALDERSTON, Marion, "Othniel Alsop's Letter Book" *49* 84-95
BALDERSTON, Mark *49* 14
Balderston Family, Colora Branch, ed. by Ruth B. Lippincott, noticed *50* 123
BALDWIN, David *46* 18

BALKANS, article on Quaker relief in *49* 57
BALLARD family, Vermont *50* 73
BALTIMORE potters, research in progress on *48* 132
BALTIMORE Yearly Meeting, Indian Committee *48* 126, 142
BANBURY Meeting *50* 48
BARBADOS *48* 5; article on Quaker midwives in, noticed *48* 76
BARBOUR, Hugh S., research in progress on early Quaker thought *46* 46; dissertation on early Friends and the world, noticed *47* 46
BARCHEM movement, Holland, article on, noticed *48* 78
BARCLAY, A. R., Manuscripts, publication of, noticed *46* 63, *47* 64, 123, *48* 80, *50* 64
BARCLAY, David *48* 10
BARCLAY, Robert *47* 62, *48* 5-6, 75, *50* 22, 28, 128; and William Rogers compared *46* 39; dissertation on, noticed *47* 47; article on, noticed *47* 122; John Woolman's reading of *48* 113; research in progress on *49* 48
BARCLAY family *49* 96, *50* 128; study of, noticed *48* 75-76
BARFIELD, Solomon *46* 18
BARKER, Abraham *47* 76-77, 78, 79
BARKER, Charles R., article on Merion, Pa., noticed *48* 142
BARKER, Jacob *47* 76-77
BARLOW family, Vermont *50* 73
BARNARD, Hannah *50* 18*n*
BARNARDISTON, Giles *49* 39, 40
BARNES, John, article on, noticed *49* 125
BARNSLEY, Edward *50* 11, 15*n*
BARNUM family, Vermont *50* 73, Canada *50* 75
BARRETT, C. Waller, article on Whittier, noticed *47* 119
BARROW, Richard Cadbury *46* 59
BARROW, Robert *48* 80
Barrow's, A Store Record, 1824-1949 (Birmingham, Eng.), noticed *46* 59
BARTLETT, Jane *46* 4
BARTLETT, Percy W., research in progress on Barrow Cadbury *48* 63; *Barrow Cadbury: A Memoir,* reviewed *50* 58
BARTLETT, Rebeccah *47* 13
BARTLETT, Tillie *48* 100
BARTLETT family *50* 73
BARTLEY, Mordecai *46* 100*n*
BARTON, Bernard *46* 56, *48* 79, *50* 12
BARTON, Edward *48* 89, 91
BARTON, George *49* 9, *50* 80
BARTON, James Levi *49* 47
BARTON, Mary S. *50* 80
BARTON family, Vermont *50* 72, 73, Canada *50* 75
BARTRAM, John, letter to Peter Collinson, noticed *46* 60; articles on, noticed *46* 122, *49* 57, *50* 121; as first American geologist *47* 35-38; letter on geological survey, 1756 *47* 37; selections from writings, noticed *47* 56; account of his garden, noticed *47* 119; letters from Martha Logan to, noticed *49* 58
BARTRAM, William *46* 18; selections from writings of, noticed *47* 46; travels of (naturalist's edition), reviewed *47* 111-112; article on, noticed *49* 57
BARTRAM, William (d. ca. 1711), article on, noticed *47* 57
BARWICK, Robert *47* 123
BASS, Michael Arthur, baron Burton *49* 46, 46*n*
BASSETT, Stephen *50* 77
BASSETT, T. D. Seymour, reviews *The Witness of William Penn,* ed. by Tolles and Alderfer *46* 120-121; reviews *Patterns of Influence in Anglo-American Quakerism,* by Drake *48* 66; reviews *Jonathan Evans and His Time, 1759-1839,* by Evans *49* 122-123; reviews *Two Trends in Modern Quaker Thought: A Statement of Belief,* by Fowler, and *How They Became Friends,* by Brinton *50* 120
BASSETT family, Can. *50* 75
BASYE, Ruby, article on Friends in Haviland, Kan., noticed *48* 139
BATCHLOR, William *47* 4
BATTEY, Thomas C. *47* 85-86, 87, 89
BATTLE Creek Meeting, Mich. *46* 104*n*
BAXTER, Richard, letters of (1675), noticed *48* 80
BAYLY, Charles, article on, noticed *49* 128
BAYNARD, Nathan *48* 85
BAYNARD, Sarah *48* 85
BEACHAM, William *47* 10*n*
BEAL, William J., study of his experiments with corn, noticed *46* 123
BEAN, Catharine E. *See* Cox, Catharine E. B.
BEAN, Hannah E. *50* 102-103
BEAN, Joel *50* 102-104; letter to R. M. Jones on revival movement in Iowa *50* 104-110
BEARD, Elkanah *50* 106
BEARD, Irene *50* 106
BEARE, R. L., article on Quirinus Kuhlmann, noticed *47* 117
BEAUCHAMP. *See* Beacham
BECK, George *46* 18
BEECHER, Lyman *49* 25

BEEKS, Grace. *See* Howard, Grace
Beginnings of Quakerism, by William C. Braithwaite, 2nd ed., reviewed *46* 50-51
BEEDE, Cyrus *50* 104
BELKNAP, William W. *47* 81
BELL, James Stroud *47* 60
BELL, John *48* 35, 35*n*
BELL, Whitfield J., Jr., reviews *James Logan and the Culture of Provincial America*, by Tolles *46* 53-54; dissertation on Philadelphia, 1775-1790, noticed *47* 46; article on John Bartram and Joseph Breintnall, noticed *50* 121
BELL, William *48* 47, 47*n*
BELLERS, John *48* 8, *50* 84
BENDER, Harold S., article on Mennonites and Friends, noticed *49* 60
BENEZET, Anthony *50* 19, 22, 28, 29; John Woolman's reading of *48* 113
BENFEY, O. T. *49* 128; article on Benjamin Robins, noticed *47* 118
BENNETT, William, article on, noticed *48* 80
BENSON, Lewis *49* 128; article on George Fox's conception of the church, noticed *46* 63
BENTON, Thomas Hart *48* 32, 32*n*
BERKELEY, George *50* 126
BERKHOFER, Robert F., Jr., research in progress on Indians *48* 63
BERRY, Mary *47* 13
BERRY, Thomas *47* 17*n*
BERRY, William *47* 4
BERTSCHE, Faith Kingsley, article on Friends in Georgia, noticed *46* 124
BETTLE, Samuel *48* 58, 58*n*, *49* 7
Between God and History, by Richard K. Ullmann, reviewed *49* 51-52
BEVAN, Elizabeth. *See* Tonjoroff, Elizabeth Bevan
BIBLE, article on Friends and, noticed *47* 62; article on Friends and the Apocrypha, noticed *47* 62
Bibliography of Pennsylvania History, by Wilkinson, Stevens and Kent, reviewed *47* 115-116
BIDDLE, Clement *46* 43
BIDDLE, Esther *46* 63; article on, noticed *46* 63-64
BIDDLE, Owen, research in progress on *48* 131
BIDDLE, William Canby *46* 69
BIDDLE family, article on, noticed *46* 62
BIG BOW, Kiowa chief *47* 89
BIG TREE, Kiowa chief *47* 86, 87
BIGGERT, Elizabeth C., compiles *Guide* to collections of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, noticed *49* 57
BIGGOT, Elisha *46* 18
BINFORD, Raymond *49* 15
BINGLEY, William *47* 123
BINNS, David, article on, noticed *50* 62
BINNS, Jonathan *47* 41*n*
BINNS, Kathleen, article on David Binns, noticed *50* 62
BIRDSALL, William *48* 58
BIRKBECK, Morris, article on children of, noticed *49* 63; research in progress on *49* 117
BIRKETT, Miles *50* 50
BIRMINGHAM, Eng., research in progress on Friends in *46* 46; research in progress on Friends and municipal reform in *49* 48
BISHOP, Ann *48* 56
BISHOP, James *46* 18
BISHOP, Robert *47* 4
BISHOPRICKE Meeting, Eng. *47* 123
BLACK, Anna M., research in progress on Friends in Adams Co., Pa. *48* 63, on Menallen Meeting, Pa. *49* 48
BLAINE, James G. *50* 37
BLAIR, Franklin *49* 15
BLAIR, Laura *46* 106
BLAKE, John B., study of Benjamin Waterhouse, noticed *47* 120
BLANSHARD, Brand, research in progress on *46* 115
BLAYKLING, John *47* 32, *48* 80
BLOOMFIELD, Paul, study of Barclay, Gurney, Buxton, Hoare families, noticed *48* 75-76
BLOOMINGDALE Academy, Indiana *49* 26-27, 30
BLOOMINGDALE Quarterly Meeting, Indiana *49* 30-31
BLUE Idol Meetinghouse, article on, noticed *47* 63
BLUE River, Indiana *49* 21
BLUE River Meeting, Indiana *47* 95, 97, *49* 23
BLUM, Fred H., research in progress on Friends and the industrial order *46* 115
BLUM, Herman, article on William Penn, noticed *46* 124
BLUMENTHAL, Walter H., article on book burnings, noticed *47* 117
BLUNSTON, Samuel *49* 62
BODINE, Gertrude S., article on John Woolman, noticed *49* 126
BOEKE, Betty, biography of, noticed *46* 61
BOEKE, Kees, biography of, noticed *46* 61
BOEWE, Charles, research in progress on

Morris Birkbeck and George Flower in Illinois *49* 117
Boggs, Joseph *46* 18
Boller, Paul F., Jr., "George Washington and the Quakers" *49* 67-83; article on George Washington and religious liberty, noticed *50* 61
Bolton, Canada, research in progress on *48* 64
Book Association, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Arch St.) *49* 9
Book burnings, article on, noticed *47* 117
Book Committee, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Arch St.) *49* 9
Boon, John *48* 86
Boon, Rudolf, article on George Fox, noticed *46* 59
Booth, Dr. Christopher, research in progress on Dr. John Fothergill *48* 63
Boromé, Joseph A., edits "John Candler's Visit to America, 1850" *48* 21-62; edits journal of John Candler's visit to Jamaica, noticed *49* 59
Boston Martyrs, article on, noticed *49* 63
Bourne, Edward *47* 123
Bowden, Barbara, research in progress on anti-Quakerism in the 17th century *48* 131
Bowie, James *46* 19
Bowles, Gilbert, article on Dr. Inazo Nitobe, noticed *48* 143
Bowne, John *46* 125, *48* 39, *49* 59, *50* 46, 48
Box Meeting, London, article on, noticed *46* 63
Box Meeting Fund *47* 123
Boyce, Samuel *48* 26
Boyce family, Vermont *50* 73
Bracey, Bertha L. *47* 64
Brainerd, Thomas *48* 38
Braithwaite, Alfred W., article on Thomas Rudyard, noticed *46* 122-123; article on Friends and George Villiers, 2nd Duke of Buckingham, noticed *47* 63; article on Theophilus Green, noticed *50* 63; article on Friends and tithes, noticed *50* 128
Braithwaite, J. Bevan *49* 32, 46
Braithwaite, William C., *The Beginnings of Quakerism,* 2nd ed., reviewed *46* 50-51
Brandon, Ga., *46* 18; non-existence of *46* 11, 12
Brandywine Mills, Del., article on, noticed *46* 56
Brazil *48* 23
Breintnall, Joseph, article on, noticed *50* 121
Bremer, Fredrika *48* 33, 33*n*
Brewer, Eliza *48* 55, 55*n*
Brewer, Johnson *48* 55
Breyfogle, William, *Make Free: The Story of the Underground Railroad,* reviewed *48* 70
Bridgetown, Md. *48* 84
"Briefer Notices," by Henry J. Cadbury *46* 56-61, 122-126, *47* 56-61, 117-121, *48* 75-78, 137-142, *49* 56-62, 124-126, *50* 59-61, 121-127
Briggs, Joseph *50* 7
Bright, John *47* 28, *48* 10, *49* 31, 56, *50* 127; article on *49* 43-46; and the Factory Acts, article on, noticed *49* 127
Brink, Andrew, research in progress on Isaac and Mary Penington *48* 63; article on Isaac Penington, noticed *50* 62; and Helen Brink, article on Ellwood's *Davideis,* noticed *50* 63
Brink, Helen and Andrew Brink, article on Ellwood's *Davideis,* noticed *50* 63
Brinton, Anna *50* 102; article on Whittier, noticed *47* 63; reviews *Phebe Anna Thorne, Quakeress,* by Floyd *48* 71; edits *Then and Now: Quaker Essays,* reviewed *50* 56-57
Brinton, Howard H., article on Quaker morals, noticed *46* 122; edits letter of Edward Stabler, noticed *47* 63; reviews *Friend of Life: The Biography of Rufus M. Jones,* by Vining *48* 71-74; article on Quaker meetinghouses, noticed *48* 76; article on Quaker education, noticed *48* 78; article on Quakerism, noticed *48* 140; "Friends for Seventy-five Years" *49* 3-20; article on the Inner Light, noticed *49* 59; article on the Holy Spirit, noticed *49* 128; edits letter from Joel Bean on revival movement in Iowa *50* 102-110; reviews *Christian Faith and Practice,* London Yearly Meeting *50* 112-113; *How They Became Friends,* reviewed *50* 120; article on Quakerism and the World Council of Churches, noticed *50* 121
Brinton 1704 House, Pa., pamphlet on, noticed *49* 58
Bristol Meeting, Eng. *47* 123; articles on, noticed *46,* 63, *48* 144; article on Irish Friends in records of, noticed *47* 64
British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society *48* 23; research in progress on *49* 49
Bronner, Edwin B., article on William

Penn, noticed *46* 62; edits article on Cheltenham Meeting, Pa., noticed *46* 127; reviews *Bibliography of Pennsylvania History 47* 115-116; edits William Penn's Charter of Property, 1701, noticed *49* 124
BROOKLYN Meeting, N. Y. *46* 86
BROSIUS, Mary K. *46* 74
BROWIN, Frances Williams, *A Century of Race Street Meeting House, 1856-1956,* noticed *46* 5, 60
BROWN, Arthur C., article on Dunn's Creek Meeting, N. C., noticed *49* 126
BROWN, David *46* 100, 100*n*
BROWN, Hannah. *See* Alsop, Hannah Brown
BROWN, Israel *46* 101, 101*n*, 102, 102*n*
BROWN, John *50* 121; in Iowa, article on, noticed *49* 60; and Friends, articles on, noticed *50* 61
BROWN, John, of Philadelphia *48* 121
BROWN, Moses *49* 72, *50* 39; account of relief work, 1775, noticed *46* 123; dissertation on, noticed *47* 48; biography of, by Hazelton, reviewed *47* 54
BROWN, Owen *50* 60
BROWN, Pamela. *See* Thomas, Pamela Brown
BROWN, Thomas S. *49* 128
BROWN, Tom, II, research in progress on Quaker ethics *48* 63
BROWN, William L., study of James Logan's and William J. Beal's experiments with corn, noticed *46* 123
BRUMFIELD, Ray, research in progress on Jericho Meeting, Indiana *47* 49
BRYAN, John *46* 19
BUCCAU, Quamino *48* 60, 60*n*
BUCKINGHAM, Duke of. *See* Villiers, George
BUCKS family, Vermont *50* 72
BUFFUM, Arnold *47* 57
BULL, Aaron *50* 72, 74, 75
BULL, Crispin *50* 72
BULL, Gideon *50* 72, 74
BULL, John Jesper *48* 48, 49
BULL, Joshua *50* 75, 80
BULL, Timothy *50* 72
BULL family, Vermont and Canada *50* 73, 76, 81
BUNSEN, Christian Karl Josias, baron *46* 109, 109*n*
BUNSEN, Frances Waddington *46* 109*n*
BUNTING, Samuel J., Jr., translates "General Francisco de Miranda and the Quakers" *48* 128-130
BUNTING, Sarah. *See* Howard, Sarah
BURANELLI, Vincent, article on William Penn and James II, noticed *49* 125; article on William Penn and the Socinians, noticed *50* 122
BURCHWELL, T. *48* 92
BURFORD Meeting, Eng., history of, noticed *47* 123
BURGESEN, Stanley K., artcle on Quaker school for Negroes, Guinea, L. I., noticed *47* 56
BURGESS, Robert S., research in progress on Mary Dyer *50* 52
BURGESS, William *48* 23
BURKE, Edmund, letters to Richard Shackleton, noticed *49* 60
BURKES, John *46* 19
BURKETT, Miles. *See* Birkett, Miles
BURNS, Andrew *46* 19
BURROUGH, Edward *47* 64
BURTT, Ruth G., article on Quaker artistic tastes, noticed *48* 79
BUSCH, Miers *47* 120
BUSINESS, Quaker attitude toward *47* 73-74, 74*n*
Business of Our Lives, by Daisy Newman, noticed *50* 127
BUTLER, Smedley Darlington *49* 47
BUTTON family, Vermont *50* 73
BUXTON, Fowell, and Africa, article on, noticed *47* 61
BUXTON family, study of, noticed *48* 76
BYBERRY Meeting, Pa., history of, noticed *48* 75; article on, noticed *48* 79
BYE, Arthur Edwin, history of Bye family, noticed *46* 124
BYE family, history of, noticed *46* 124
BYRD, Robert Oakes, dissertation on Quakerism and foreign policy, noticed *47* 46; article on Friends and foreign policy, noticed *47* 121; "Quakerism and Foreign Policy: The Development of a Relationship" *48* 3-20; *Quaker Ways in Foreign Policy,* reviewed *49* 119-120

C

CADBURY, Barrow, research in progress on *48* 63; memoir of, by Percy W. Bartlett, reviewed *50* 58
CADBURY, Beatrice. *See* Boeke, Betty
CADBURY, Benjamin Head *46* 108
CADBURY, Candia Wadkin *46* 108
CADBURY, Caroline, visit to Whittier *46* 108-110
CADBURY, Christabel *46* 108
CADBURY, Hannah *46* 108
CADBURY, Henry J. *47* 62; revises *The Beginnings of Quakerism,* by Braithwaite, reviewed *46* 50-51; "Briefer

Notices" *46* 56-61, 122-126, *47* 56-61, 117-121, *48* 75-78, 137-142, *49* 56-62, 124-126, *50* 59-61, 121-127; article on Hannah Penn, noticed *46* 61; article on Quakerism, noticed *46* 61; on League of Nations *46* 91-92; edits "A Visit to Whittier in 1881" *46* 108-110; *Quakerism and Early Christianity,* reviewed *46* 119; article on Friends "farthest South," noticed *46* 127; article on John Hall, noticed *46* 127; article on membership in the Society of Friends, noticed *46* 127; "The Horizon of Fox's Early Visions" *47* 30-34; article on Friends and Pilgrims, noticed *47* 62; article on Friends and the Apocrypha, noticed *47* 62; article on Earlham Hall, noticed *47* 63; article on early Quaker theology, noticed *47* 63; article on Whittier, noticed *47* 63; reviews *Quaker Organization and Business Meetings,* by Doncaster *47* 111; article on Flushing Remonstrance, noticed *47* 122; article on Robert Barclay, noticed *47* 122; articles on John Woolman, noticed *48* 79, *49* 127; article on Cromwell and Fox, noticed *48* 80; article on Lincoln and Friends, noticed *48* 143; article on Quaker interpretation of Christ, noticed *48* 143; article on the plain language, noticed *48* 143; article on Joseph John Gurney, noticed *48* 144; "A Quaker Before the Privy Council, 1663" *49* 36-42; article on Boston martyrs, noticed *49* 63; article on Friends and Peter I of Russia, noticed *49* 63; article on Friends in Jamaica, noticed *49* 59; article on George Fox, noticed *49* 63; research in progress on *49* 117, *50* 52; edits transcript of hearing of Philip Ford, noticed *49* 125; article on Charles Bayly, noticed *49* 128; article on site of hanging of Mary Dyer, noticed *49* 128; article on Jonathan Dickinson, noticed *49* 128; "History in Cash Accounts" *50* 46-51; edits Joseph Gill's account of American journey, noticed *50* 59; article on early use of term "Quaker," noticed *50* 62-63; reviews *Early Puritanism in the Southern and Island Colonies,* by Levy *50* 114-115; article on Liberty Bell, noticed *50* 128; article on pastoral system and pacifism, noticed *50* 128

CADBURY, Joel *46* 4, 108

CADBURY, John *46* 59

CADBURY, Mary C., research in progress on William Penn and Pennsylvania schools *48* 63

CADBURY, Tessa, reviews *Ernest E. Taylor: Valiant for Truth* by Whiting *47* 109-110

CADBURY, William A., memoir of, noticed *48* 140-141

CADBURY family, Philadelphia *48* 137

CADWALLADER, Jonah *46* 101, 101*n*, 102

CADWALLADER, Sarah Ann *46* 72

CALIFORNIA, 1850 *48* 24-28, 31-32, 35

CALIFORNIA Yearly Meeting *46* 86; account of, noticed *50* 126; Board of Peace and Justice *46* 93

CALVIN, John *50* 22, 27

CAMM, John *47* 123

CAMP, Leon Ray, research in progress on Roger Williams *50* 52

CAMPBELL, Marius Robinson *49* 47

CANADA, Friends meetings in *47* 104-105; research in progress on Bolton *48* 64, on Farnham Meeting *48* 64; Newmarket *49* 12; Pickering College *49* 12; article on Farnham Meeting *50* 67-81; history of Quakerism in, noticed *50* 123

CANBY, Catharine. *See* Balderston, Catharine Canby

CANBY family, Pa. *46* 124

CANDLER, Elizabeth *48* 21

CANDLER, John, account of visit to America, 1850 *48* 21-62; account of visit to Jamaica, noticed *49* 59

CANDLER, Lucy *48* 23

CANDLER, Maria Knight *48* 22, 37

CANDLER, William, of Eng. *48* 21-22

CANDLER, William, of Ga. *46* 15-16,22

CANNON, Joseph J. G. *49* 31

CARLE, Susan Hicks *50* 10

CARNALL, Geoffrey, study of Robert Southey and Quakerism, noticed *50* 60

CARNER, Lucy, article on Jane Addams, noticed *49* 127

CARPENTER, Richard *48* 29, 29*n*

CARR family *48* 144

CARROLL, Kenneth L., articles on Nicholites, noticed *46* 125; "The Nicholites Become Quakers: An Example of Unity in Disunion" *47* 3-19; article on Quakerism in Talbot Co., Md., noticed *48* 76-77; "Quakerism in Caroline County, Maryland: Its Rise and Decline" *48* 83-102; reviews *I Have Called You Friends,* by Anscombe *49* 121-122

CARSON, John *46* 19

CASS, Lewis *48* 33, 33*n*

CASTELL, Jacob *46* 19

CASTLE, Jacob. *See* Castell, Jacob

CATAWISSA, Pa. *47* 61
CATON, William *46* 35*n*, *50* 49
CATTARAUGUS Indian reservation, N. Y. *48* 116-127 passim
CEDAR Creek Meetinghouse, Va., article on, noticed *46* 122
CENTER Meeting, Md. *48* 83-102 passim
CENTER Meeting, Ohio *48* 139
CENTRAL Philadelphia Meeting *46* 5
CENTRE Meeting, N. C., history of, noticed *47* 59
CHALMERS, Thomas *49* 108*n*
CHANDLER, Elizabeth, article on, noticed *46* 56
CHAPIN, Israel *48* 118
CHAPMAN, George R., history of Grange Meeting, Ireland, noticed *50* 122
CHARITY, Quaker, before the American Revolution *50* 82-95
CHARLES II, king of England *48* 4, *49* 36-37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42
CHARLES, Solomon *47* 13, *48* 88
CHARLESTON, S. C. *50* 94
CHARLOTTE, Vt. *50* 73
CHASE, James *47* 101
CHASE, Lucy *46* 72
CHASE, Salmon P. *48* 33, 33*n*, *49* 25
CHELMSFORD Auxiliary Bible Society *48* 22
CHELMSFORD Meeting *48* 22
CHELTENHAM Meeting, Pa., article on, noticed *46* 127
CHERRY Street Meetinghouse, Philadelphia *46* 6-8
CHESTERFIELD Meeting, N. J. *49* 127
CHESTERHILL, Ohio, history of, noticed *50* 60-61
CHESTON, John *48* 58
CHESTON, Margaret *48* 58
CHEYNEY State College, Pa., research in progress on *50* 52
CHILCUTT, Joshua *47* 4
CHILD, Mary H. *46* 43
CHILDREN of Peace, Can. *49* 12
CHINA *48* 4
CHINARD, Gilbert, edits account of John Bartram's garden, noticed *47* 119
CHINN, Samuel *50* 29*n*
CHIPMAN, Paris *47* 9, 10
CHOLERA, Asiatic, 1832 *49* 23
CHRIST, articles on Quaker interpretation of, noticed *48* 143, *49* 128
CHRISTIAN Endeavor Society, Guilford College *49* 14
Christian Faith and Practice in the Society of Friends, London Yearly Meeting, reviewed *50* 112-113
Christian Pacifism in History, by Geoffrey F. Nuttall, reviewed *47* 112-113
CHRISTMAS, article on Friends and, noticed *48* 75
CHRISTOLOGY, Quaker, dissertation on, noticed *47* 46, article on, noticed *47* 62
"CHRONICLES of John and Zachariah; an incident in the history of midwestern Progressive Friends," edited by Willard C. Heiss *46* 99-105
CHU, Else, research in progress on Sowle family *48* 131
CHUCKATUCK Meeting, N. C. *47* 56
CHURCH, article on Fox's conception of, noticed *46* 63; concept of, in 17th-century Quakerism *46* 35-39; dissertation on Quaker concept of, noticed *47* 47
CHURCH and state, research in progress on *50* 53
CHURCHMAN, John, John Woolman's reading of *48* 113
CIVIL War, American *48* 12; Great Britain and the U. S. in *47* 20-29; article on English Friends and, noticed *47* 123; Kansas Friends in *50* 99-100; diaries of Anna M. Ferris, noticed *50* 127
CIZEVSKIJ, Dmitrij, article on Quirinus Kuhlmann, noticed *47* 117-118
CLAPP, Phebe. *See* Thomas, Phebe Clapp
CLARK, Dougan *46* 47, *50* 107
CLARK, Robert A., article on Friends and psychiatry, noticed *48* 144
CLARK Hill Reservoir, Ga. *46* 11
CLARKSON, Catherine *48* 79
CLARKSON, Thomas *50* 14*n*, 22, 29
CLARKSON Educational Association *46* 73
CLAUS, Jan *47* 31
CLAY, Henry *48* 32, 34, 35
CLAYPOOLE, George *47* 69
CLAYPOOLE, Joseph *47* 69
CLAYTON, Richard *50* 49
CLIFFORD, Thomas, dissertation on, noticed *47* 47
CLIFFORD, William F., research in progress on James Logan *46* 46
CLIFTON, Henry *47* 69
CLOTHIER, Caleb *46* 6
CLOUD, Joel *46* 19
CLUBB, M. D., Jr., article on second personal pronoun in *Moby Dick*, noticed *50* 127
COALBROOKDALE Co., and Darby family, article on, noticed *49* 63
COALE, Elizabeth *46* 87
COALE, J. *49* 38
COATE, Alfred T. *49* 35
COATS, James *46* 19

Cobbs, James *46* 19
Cobden, Richard *47* 28
Cochrane, Cornelius *46* 19
Cock, Eliza. *See* Parsons, Eliza Cock
Cock, Thomas *48* 39, 39*n*
Coffin, Charles F. *49* 44, 44*n*, 58, *50* 105
Coffin, Elijah *48* 45, 46, 46*n*, 50, *49* 58
Coffin, Joshua *47* 57
Coffin, Naomi *48* 45
Coffin, Priscilla. *See* Hobbs, Priscilla
Coffin, Rhoda *49* 58
Coffin, Sir Richard *49* 21
Coffin, T. Eugene, account of Friends churches in Calif., noticed *50* 126
Coffin, William, of N. C. *49* 21
Coffin, William, of Kan. *50* 98
Coffin family, Minn. *50* 124
Coggeshall, Elizabeth *48* 30, 30*n*, *50* 18*n*
Colden, Elizabeth. *See* Murray, Elizabeth Colden
Cole, Alan, article on Friends and the English Revolution, noticed *46* 61; dissertation on Friends and politics, 1652-1660, noticed *47* 46
Cole, Benjamin, letter of, noticed *48* 79
Cole, Josiah *47* 123; article on, noticed *47* 122
Cole, W. Allen, article on social origins of early Friends, noticed *47* 123
Coleman, Sarah. *See* Alsop, Sarah
Coleridge, Samuel Taylor *48* 79
College Park Association of Friends, Calif. *49* 17, *50* 103
College Park Meeting, Calif. *50* 103
Collins, Clarkson A., 3rd, edits letters of Nathanael Greene, noticed *46* 58, *49* 62
Collins, Isaac *48* 37, 38, 58
Collins, Rebecca *48* 37
Collins, N. Y. *48* 116
Collins Meeting, N. Y. *48* 127
Collinson, Peter *46* 35, 122; letter from John Bartram, noticed *46* 60; correspondence of, noticed *47* 121; research in progress on *49* 117
Colquhoun, Albert A. *47* 105
Colquhoun, James *47* 105
Colthouse Meetinghouse, article on, noticed *46* 126
Colvin family, Vt. *50* 73
Come-to-Good Meeting, article on, noticed *50* 62
Comfort, Samuel *50* 23, 23*n*, 29
Comfort, Stephen *50* 23, 23*n*, 29
Comfort, William Wistar, *The Quaker Persuasion,* reviewed *46* 120
Comly, John *50* 5, 23, 29; article on his correspondence with Isaac Hicks, noticed *46* 127; letter to Benjamin Ferris *50* 8-9
Comstock, Elizabeth *47* 100, *50* 105
Congor family, Vt. *50* 73
Congregational Friends. *See* Progressive Friends
Conscientious objectors *49* 32; hearing of, in 1679, noticed *49* 125
Conyers, Charline H., research in progress on Cheyney State College *50* 52
Cook, Amos *46* 100, 101, 101*n*, 102, 104
Cook family, Ia. *50* 104; of Vt. *50* 73
Cooper, Annie *46* 79
Cooper, Benjamin *48* 121, 122
Cooper, Isaac *46* 19
Cooper, James *48* 34
Cooper, Wilmer A., dissertation on Rufus M. Jones, noticed *47* 46; article on Rufus M. Jones, noticed *47* 63
Cope, Francis R. *49* 111
Cope, Jackson I., article on early Quaker prose style, noticed *46* 61
Cope, Marmaduke *48* 58, 58*n*
Cope, Sarah *48* 58
Coppoc, Barclay *49* 60, *50* 61
Coppoc, Edwin *49* 60, *50* 61
Coppock, Mary Blue, article on Stella Friends Academy, Okla., noticed *49* 57
Corbit, William *50* 47, 123
Corbit House, Odessa, Del., study of, noticed *50* 123
Corder, Herbert *49* 16
Corder, Robert *48* 48
Corkran, Henry *48* 96
Corkran, Willis *48* 98
Cornell, John J. *48* 102
Corner, Betsy Copping, research in progress on John Fothergill *48* 63; article on John Fothergill and Benjamin Franklin, noticed *49* 62
Cornplanter, Indian chief *48* 117
Cornwall, article on Quakerism in, noticed *50* 62
Corse, Cassandra *47* 17*n*
Corwen, Thomas *48* 33, 33*n*
Coventry, Henry *48* 85
Covey, Noble *47* 4
Covington, Henry *48* 85
Cowart, Elizabeth *50* 49, 50
Cowgill, Clayton *47* 17*n*
Cowgill, Daniel *47* 17*n*
Cowgill, Mary *47* 17*n*
Cowgill, Sarah *47* 17*n*
Cox, Catharine E. B. *50* 103*n*
Cox, John, Jr. *49* 56
Cox, Nancy R., research in progress on

Friends and Indian policy of Grant *49* 48
Cox family, Minn. *50* 124
Cradock, Walter, study of, noticed *46* 115
Crane, Robert M., article on early Quakerism, noticed *46* 62
Crank, Jane *50* 79
Cravath, Paul Drennan *49* 47
Creasey, Maurice A., dissertation on Quaker Christology, noticed *47* 46; articles on Christology of early Quakerism, noticed *47* 62, *49* 128
Cresson, Warder *47* 120
Crewdson, Isaac *47* 62
Crimean War *48* 12
Crisp, Stephen *49* 39, 41-42
Cromwell, Oliver *48* 4; article on, noticed *48* 80
Cromwell, Otelia, *Lucretia Mott,* reviewed *48* 69-70
Crosfield family *48* 144
Crosland, R. Wilfrid, article on Kirbymoorside and Hutton-le-Hole meetings, noticed *50* 64
Crow, Francis *49* 59
Crowley, Judith, article on marriage of, noticed *46* 64
Cruikshank, Helen G., ed. *John and William Bartram's America,* noticed *47* 56
Cuffee, Paul, article on, noticed *48* 80
Culture of early Pennsylvania, article on, noticed *46* 125
Currey, Cecil B., research in progress on Quaker pacifism in Kansas *48* 63; "Quakers in 'Bleeding Kansas'" *50* 96-101
Curti, Merle, research in progress on history of American philanthropy *46* 46
Curtis, Anna L., biographical account of Mary S. McDowell, noticed *50* 126
Custis, John, correspondence of, noticed *47* 121

D

Dakin, Peter *47* 103
Danby, Vt. *50* 72
Danby Meeting, Vt. *50* 73
Danforth, Mildred E., *A Quaker Pioneer: Laura Haviland, Superintendent of the Underground,* reviewed *50* 116-117
Dangerous Eagle, Indian *47* 93
Daniel, William *46* 19
Dannett, Sylvia G. L., research in progress on Rebecca Wright *48* 131
Dannis, Abraham. *See* Dennis, Abraham
Dante, article on Whittier and, noticed *47* 120
Danville, Vt. *50* 73
Darby, Abraham, research in progress on *46* 115; article on, noticed *47* 58
Darby family, articles on, noticed *48* 78, *49* 63
Darlington, Amelia *50* 104
Darlington, Brinton *50* 104
Darlington, Eng., article on Friends in, noticed *47* 64
Darragh, Lydia *50* 124
Dartmouth, Mass., article on Friends in, noticed *50* 126
Darton, Laurence, research in progress on Friends Committee for Refugees and Aliens *46* 46
Dashiells, Eleanor Marine *47* 9*n*
Davidites. *See* Children of Peace
Davidson, John W. *47* 81
Davidson, Robert L. D., *War Comes to Quaker Pennsylvania, 1682-1756,* reviewed *47* 113-115
Davies, Richard *50* 122
Davis, Jefferson *48* 32
Davis, John, of Ga. *46* 19
Davis, John, of Mass. *48* 33
Davis family, Vermont *50* 73
Davison, Robert, "The Reputation of a Quaker Businessman" *47* 73-79; reviews *Quaker Homespun: The Life of Thomas Fox of Wellington,* by H. Fox *47* 110-111; reviews *A Quaker Business Man: The Life of Joseph Rowntree,* by Vernon *48* 136-137
Dawson, Elisha *48* 89
Dawson, Mary. *See* Fisher, Mary (d. 1854)
Dawson, William *47* 4
Day, Mahlon *48* 29, 29*n,* 38, 40, 61
Day, Mary Kerr *48* 29*n,* 61
Day, Stephen *46* 19
Day, Susan *48* 29*n*
Dean family, Ia. *50* 104
Deardorff, Merle H., edits journal of John Philips' visit to Indians, noticed *47* 57; article on religion of Handsome Lake, noticed *49* 62
deBrahm, J. W. G. *46* 17
Deep River Meeting, N. C. *47* 10*n*
Defoe, Daniel, and Maryland, article on, noticed *47* 58
Delaware, article on Brandywine Mills, noticed *46* 56; research in progress on Friends in *48* 64; study of, noticed *50* 59
Delaware River valley in 17th-century, research in progress on *50* 53

Denison, Patrick *46* 19
Denmark and Norway, articles on Quakerism in, noticed *46* 59
Dennis, Abraham *46* 19
Dennis, Isaac *46* 19
Dennis, Jacob *46* 19
Dennis, John *46* 19
Desiderius, or the Original Pilgrim, John Woolman's reading of *48* 106, 113
Desmarest, Nicholas *47* 36
Dewsbury, William, John Woolman's reading of *48* 112
Dickinson, Grace *48* 46, 46*n*
Dickinson, Henry *48* 46, 46*n*
Dickinson, John, of Md. *47* 13, *48* 88
Dickinson, John, of Pa., articles on, noticed *46* 58, *50* 127
Dickinson, Jonathan, article on, noticed *49* 128
Dictionary of American Biography, Friends in *49* 47
Dillenius, Dr. *46* 122
Dillon, Merton L., article on Elizabeth Chandler, noticed *46* 56; article on abolitionists, noticed *49* 62
Dillwyn, George *49* 85
Dinwiddie, Robert, gov. of Va. *49* 70
Disarmament *48* 13, 15, 16
Discipline, Nicholite rules of *47* 7; Quaker research in progress on *48* 64, *49* 48
Disraeli, Benjamin *49* 45, 45*n*, 46
Dissenters, 1660-1740, research in progress on *47* 49
Dix, Dorothea Lynde *48* 58, 58*n*
Dixon, George G. *48* 101
Dixon, James *48* 97
Dodd, A. H., article on Welsh Quakers in Pa., noticed *48* 140
Dolobran Meetinghouse, Wales, article on, noticed *48* 143; history of, noticed *50* 122
Donaldson, Mary *48* 33
Doncaster, L. Hugh, article on Samuel Gurney, noticed *46* 62; article on Advices and Queries, noticed *46* 127; *Quaker Organization and Business Meetings,* reviewed *47* 111; article on Joseph Sturge, noticed *48* 143; article on William Singleton, noticed *48* 144; article on Boston martyrs, noticed *49* 63
Donne, John *49* 63
Dorland, Arthur G., history of Canadian Quakerism, noticed *50* 123
Dorsey, William *46* 72
Douglas, Cornelius *48* 56
Douglas, John Henry *47* 97, *50* 107
Douglas, John M., article on Quakerism in Ireland, noticed *47* 122-123
Douglas, Robert W. *47* 97
Douglas, Stephen A. *48* 32, *50* 96
Douglas family *50* 105
Dover, John *46* 19
Downing, John *49* 14
Drake, Dr. Daniel *49* 25
Drake, Thomas E., *Patterns of Influence in Anglo-American Quakerism,* reviewed *48* 66; reviews *Lucretia Mott,* by Cromwell *48* 69-70; reviews *The Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground Railroad,* by Gara *50* 117-120
Dreams of John Woolman *48* 107-108
Dreiser, Theodore, correspondence with Rufus M. Jones, ed. by Gerhard Friedrich *46* 23-24; meeting with Rufus M. Jones *46* 24; on Quakerism *46* 25, 27, 28; influence of R. M. Jones on *The Bulwark 46* 29-33; article on Quaker sources for *The Bulwark,* noticed *47* 118
Drinker, Elizabeth *49* 75, 82
Drinker, Henry *49* 85
Drinker, Joseph, letter of, noticed *48* 79
Drinker, Sophie Hutchinson, *Hannah Penn and the Proprietorship of Pennsylvania,* reviewed *48* 67-68; article on Hannah Penn, noticed *49* 126
Dublin, Ireland, abstracts of Quaker wills in, noticed *47* 60; article on, noticed *47* 64
Duck Creek Meeting, Md. *48* 86
Dun, John. *See* Dunn, John
Dunbar, John R., ed. *The Paxton Papers,* noticed *48* 75
Duncan, David *50* 64
Dunkin, John *46* 19
Dunlap, Charles A., article on Charles Lamb and Friends, noticed *46* 56
Dunn, Benjamin *46* 19
Dunn, John *46* 19
Dunning, C. P. *48* 99
Dunn's Creek Meeting, N. C., article on, noticed *49* 126
Dunwoody, William Hood *47* 60
Dupuis, Alice, research in progress on William Penn *49* 117
Dwyer, Eddie L., research in progress on theology of Rufus M. Jones *46* 46; dissertation on Rufus M. Jones, noticed *47* 46
Dyer, Mary, article on Rufus M. Jones and, noticed *46* 60; article on, noticed *49* 63; article on site of hanging of, noticed *49* 128; research in progress on *50* 52

E

EARLHAM College *49* 12, 16-17, 28-29, 33, 43
EARLHAM Hall, article on, noticed *47* 63
Early Puritanism in the Southern and Island Colonies, by Babette M. Levy, reviewed *50* 114-115
EAST Farnham, Can. *50* 68
EAST HAMBURG Meeting, N. Y. *48* 122
EAST India Company *49* 104
EAST Montpelier, Vt. *50* 73
EASTBURN, Elizabeth H. *46* 43
EASTMAN family, Can. *50* 74
EBY, Cecil D., Jr., article on Whittier, noticed *50* 121
ECKLES, Edward *46* 19
EDDY, John L. *48* 23
EDDY family, Vt. *50* 73
EDELSTEIN, J. M., article on John and William Bartram, noticed *49* 57
EDGERTON, Joseph *47* 42
EDMONDSON, James *48* 88
EDMONDSON, William *46* 63; articles on, noticed *46* 57, *47* 63, 122
EDMONDSON, William, of Md. *48* 88
EDMUNDSON. *See* Edmondson
EDUCATION, for freedmen *46* 71-81; in Pa., research in progress on William Penn and *48* 63; research in progress on doctrine of Inner Light in *49* 48; higher, article on Friends' interest in, noticed *46* 127, dissertation on Friends and, noticed *47* 47; Quaker, article on, noticed *48* 78
EDWARDS, George H., article on Dolobran Meetinghouse, Wales, noticed *48* 143; history of Dolobran Meetinghouse, noticed *50* 122; article on Friends in Westminster, Eng., noticed *46* 62; article on Haddonfield, N. J., noticed *47* 122
EDWARDS, Irene L., article on women Friends of London, noticed *46* 63
EKIRCH, Arthur A., Jr., *The Civilian and the Military,* noticed *46* 57
ELAM, William *46* 19
ELEVATIS Meeting, Ind. *49* 26, 27
ELISON, Colonel *46* 72
ELKINTON, J. Passmore, edits selections from journal of Thomas Elkinton *47* 38-45
ELKINTON, Joseph *47* 44
ELKINTON, Joseph S. *47* 38, 42-43
ELKINTON, Malinda Patterson *47* 38, 42-43
ELKINTON, Thomas, journal of trip to Ohio, 1856 *47* 38-45
ELKINTON, Thomas W. *47* 38*n*
ELLICOTT, Joseph *48* 119, 123
ELLIOT, John, Jr. *47* 69
ELLIOTT, John *48* 123
ELLIS, Abigail W. *46* 41
ELLIS, Jacob M. *46* 41, 71, 79, 81
ELLIS, Thomas *46* 63, *47* 30, *50* 12, 16
ELLWOOD, Thomas, article on his *Davideis,* noticed *50* 63
ELY, Sarah M. *46* 73
EMANCIPATION Proclamation *47* 27
EMERSON, Elizabeth H., "Barnabas C. Hobbs, Midwestern Quaker Minister and Educator" *49* 21-35
EMERSON, Ralph Waldo *46* 110; early lectures of, noticed *49* 61; letter from Whittier, noticed *47* 57
EMITT, James *46* 19
EMLEN, Samuel *49* 85
EMREY, Virginia L., research in progress on merchants in Philadelphia, 1765-1777 *48* 131
ENGLAND, Frederick *50* 77
EPHRON, Lawrence R., research in progress on American Friends Service Committee *50* 52
ERNEST, Joseph M., Jr., article on Whittier, noticed *46* 57; dissertation on Whittier, noticed *47* 47
ETHICS, Quaker, research in progress on *48* 63
ETTEN, Henry van, article on Friends and the French Revolution, noticed *47* 60; *George Fox and the Quakers,* reviewed *49* 54-55
EUSTACE, P. Beryl, abstracts Dublin Quaker wills, noticed *47* 60
EVANGELICALISM in Quakerism *50* 106-110; research in progress on *50* 54
EVANS, Arise *47* 32*n*
EVANS, David, of Ind. *46* 103, 103*n*, 104
EVANS, David, of Phila. *47* 68, 69*n*, 70-71
EVANS, Harold *49* 111
EVANS, Jonathan *46* 3, *49* 8; research in progress on *46* 115
EVANS, Joshua *47* 8*n*, 11, 38
EVANS, William Bacon, research in progress on Jonathan Evans *46* 115; *Jonathan Evans and His Time, 1759-1839: Bi-Centennial Biography,* reviewed *49* 122-123
EVANS Mills Meeting, N. Y. *47* 102
EVERARD, John, John Woolman's reading of *48* 105-106
EVITTS, Seth Hill *47* 17
EXTENSION Committee, Phila. Yearly Meeting (Arch St.) *49* 11
EYSTER, Nellie Blessing, story of Friends' visit to Lincoln, noticed *49* 58

F

FACTORY Acts, article on John Bright and, noticed *49* 127
FAIRFAX Meeting, Va., account of, noticed *49* 127
FALLEN Timbers, battle of *48* 117
FAMILISTS, research in progress on *46* 47
FANNER, William. *See* Farmer, William
FARMER, William *46* 19
FARMERS Institute Meeting, Ind., history of, noticed *47* 118
FARNHAM Meeting, Can., research in progress on *47* 64; article on *50* 67-81; map, frontispiece *50* No. 2
FARNSWORTH, Richard *47* 123; article on, noticed *47* 64
FARNWORTH. *See* Farnsworth
FARR, Dr. Clifford B., edits letters to Dr. Thomas S. Kirkbride, 1860-1865, noticed *48* 138
FAWCETT, Henry *49* 45, 45*n*
FAWELL, Ruth, biography of Joan Mary Fry, noticed *49* 61
FEAGINS, Carroll S., research in progress on critiques of pacifism *46* 115
FELL, Leonard *50* 50
FELL, Margaret. *See* Fox, Margaret
FELL, Sarah, account book of *50* 47
FELL, Thomas, article on, noticed *48* 77
FÉNELON, François, John Woolman's reading of *48* 111*n*, 113
FENIMORE, Richard *47* 58
FENIMORE family, article on, noticed *47* 58
FERM, Vergilius, study of Friends, noticed *47* 118
FERRAND, C. Hilary, research in progress on Henry J. Cadbury *49* 117
FERRIS, Anna M., diary of, noticed *50* 127
FERRIS, Benjamin *50* 8, 9, 9*n*, 10
FERRIS, Henry *46* 92; on League of Nations *46* 87, 88, 88*n*, 90-91, 95
FERRISBURG Meeting, Vt. *50* 73
FERRISBURG Quarterly Meeting, Vt. *47* 103-104
FEW, Benjamin *46* 22
FEW, William Preston *49* 47
FICTION, American, dissertation on Friends in, noticed *47* 47
FIELDS, James T. *50* 37, 39, 40, 41
FIFTY-SEVENTH Street Meeting, Chicago, history of, noticed *47* 61
FIGHTING Quakers. *See* Free Quakers
FINLAND *48* 12, 13; article on Quakerism in, noticed *50* 59
FINNEY, Frank F., article on Osage Indian Agency, noticed *48* 142
FIRMIN, Thomas *50* 122
FIRST Day School Association, Phila. Yearly Meeting (Arch St.) *49* 11
FISHER, Mary (d. 1854), article on, noticed *50* 63
FISHER, Samuel, research in progress on *48* 63
FISHER, Sarah, diary of, 1776-1778, noticed *47* 78
FIVE Years Meeting *49* 33; fundamentalist and modernist tendencies in *49* 5, 11-17, 19-20
FLEMEN, David *46* 19
FLETCHER, James *50* 64
FLETCHER, John *49* 16
FLINN, M. W., article on marriage of Judith Crowley, noticed *46* 64
FLOAN, Howard R., study of Whittier, noticed *48* 140
FLOWER, George, research in progress on *49* 117
FLOYD, Olive, *Phebe Anna Thorne, Quakeress*, reviewed *48* 71
FLUSHING Remonstrance *49* 60; study of, by Trébor, noticed *46* 125, by Cadbury, noticed *47* 122
FOGELKLOU-NORLIND, Emilia, article on Quakerism in Sweden, noticed *50* 59
FOLGER, Peter, article on, noticed *48* 141
FOLKLORE, Quaker, research in progress on *48* 132; article on, noticed *49* 60
FOLWELL, John *47* 69
FOOTE, Henry Stuart *48* 32, 32*n*
FORBES, Crosby, research in progress on English dissenters, 1660-1740 *47* 49
FORBES, John, reviews *Two Early Political Associations: The Quakers and the Dissenting Deputies*, by Hunt *50* 115-116
FORBUSH, Bliss, article on William Pegg and Edward Hicks, noticed *46* 62; article on Elias Hicks, noticed *46* 127; research in progress on liberal Quakerism *50* 52; reviews *Then and Now: Quaker Essays*, ed. by Brinton *50* 56-57
FORD, Alice *50* 21, 23; "The Publication of Edward Hicks's *Memoirs*" *50* 4-11
FORD, Cornelius *46* 64
FORD, Philip, transcript of hearing of, 1679, noticed *49* 125
FOREIGN policy, article on Friends and, noticed *47* 121; Quakerism and *48* 3-20
FORSTER, William Edward *47* 21, *49* 46, 46*n*
FORT Sill, Okla., Indian agency at *47* 80-93

FOTHERGILL, Betty, research in progress on *46* 47
FOTHERGILL, Dr. John *46* 47, *47* 35-36, 120, *48* 10, 114; research in progress on *48* 63; John Woolman's reading of *48* 113; and Benjamin Franklin, article on, noticed *49* 62; visits George Washington's father *49* 69
FOULDS, Elfrida Vipont, *Ackworth School,* reviewed *50* 57-58; *Story of Quakerism,* 2nd ed., noticed *50* 60
FOWKES, George Allen, architectural study of Nantucket, noticed *50* 60
FOWLER, Albert, *Two Trends in Modern Quaker Thought,* reviewed *50* 120
FOWLER, Elizabeth *48* 36
FOWLER, Mary Ann *48* 36
FOX, Charlotte *48* 61
FOX, George *46* 47, 63, 113, 123, *47* 62, 64, 73, 119, 123, *48* 4, 5, 6, 39, 111*n*, *49* 36*n*, 116, *50* 22, 28, 29, 47, 48*n*, 63, 64, 128; articles on, noticed *46* 59, *48* 80, 142, *49* 63; research in progress on *48* 132, *49* 48, on theology of *46* 47; article on his conception of the church, noticed *46* 63; article on spiritual healing of, noticed *46* 127; his early visions *47* 30-34; dissertation on, noticed *47* 47; letters to, noticed *48* 80; biographies of, by Roberts and van Etten, reviewed *49* 54-55; Ralph Waldo Emerson's lecture on, noticed *49* 61; article on his belief in the Trinity, noticed *49* 128; his use of financial records *50* 48-51; article on portrait of, noticed *50* 64; article on beliefs of, noticed *50* 128
FOX, Hubert, history of Spiceland Meetinghouse, Eng., noticed *49* 61-62; *Quaker Homespun: The Life of Thomas Fox of Wellington,* reviewed *47* 110-111
FOX, Margaret *46* 63, *47* 123, *50* 48*n*, 49
FOX, Robert Were *48* 23
FOX, Thomas, of Wellington, biography of, reviewed *47* 110-111
FOX, William *48* 61
FOX family *48* 144
FRAME, Esther *47* 97
FRAME, Nathan *47* 97
FRANCE *48* 12, 23
FRANKLIN, Benjamin *47* 36, *49* 62, *50* 37, 121; article on his type, noticed *46* 126; and Dr. John Fothergill, article on, noticed *49* 62; article on Quaker party and, noticed *50* 124
FRANKLIN, Thomas *48* 52
FREE Produce Association *48* 50
FREE Quakers *46* 113-114, *48* 9
FREEDMEN, article on Philadelphia Society for Aid of *46* 67-83; schools for *46* 71-81
FREEDMEN's Bureau *46* 73, 75-76, 82
FREEDMEN's Normal Institute, research in progress on *48* 64
Freedom from Fear: The Slave and His Emancipation, by O. A. Sherrard, reviewed *50* 116-117
FRENCH Revolution, article on Friends and, noticed *47* 60
FRETTWELL, Ralph *46* 63, *50* 64
FRETWELL. *See* Frettwell
FRETZ, J. Herbert, article on Germantown Antislavery petition of 1688, noticed *48* 140
FRICK, George F., research in progress on Peter Collinson *49* 117
FRIEDMANN, Robert, article on Friends, noticed *49* 60-61
FRIEDRICH, Gerhard, ed., "The Dreiser-Jones Correspondence" *46* 23-24; articles on Theodore Dreiser and Quakerism, noticed *47* 118
FRIEDRICH, Leonhard, article on Friends at Pyrmont, Germany, noticed *48* 144
Friend of Life: The Biography of Rufus M. Jones, by Elizabeth Gray Vining, reviewed *48* 71-74
FRIENDLY Association for Gaining and Preserving Peace with the Indians *48* 8
"FRIENDLY Names in the Dictionary of American Biography," by Anna B. Hewitt *49* 47
FRIENDS, articles on, noticed *46* 59, *47* 118, 119, *49* 60-61, 125; memorials for Abraham Lincoln *46* 40-45; article on Friends and Lincoln, noticed *48* 143; in Birmingham, Eng., research in progress on *46* 46, *49* 48; in North Carolina, research in progress on *46* 46, article on, noticed *48* 142; article on Charles Lamb's relations with, noticed *46* 56; article on influence on John Dickinson, noticed *46* 58; Goethe's contact with, mentioned *46* 58; and the English Revolution, article on, noticed *46* 61; in Hungary, 1662, article on, noticed *46* 62; in Westminster, Eng., article on, noticed *46* 62; article on stamps commemorating, noticed *46* 62; article on early thought of, noticed *46* 63; and the League of Nations *46* 85-98; in America, Henri Herz describes *46* 111-114, research in progress on *48* 64; confused with Shakers *46* 111, 112, 114; and the social-industrial order, research in progress on *46* 115, history

of, noticed *48* 78; 1660-1740, research in progress on social background of *46* 115; in Georgia, article on, noticed *46* 124, in Wrightstown, Ga. *46* 10-22, in the American Revolution *46* 15-16; in South Africa, article on, noticed *46* 127; in the Antarctic, article on, noticed *46* 127; in the South Pacific, article on, noticed *46* 127; and foreign policy, dissertation on, noticed *47* 46, article on, noticed *47* 121, article on *48* 3-20; and the Bible, article on, noticed *47* 62; and the Apocrypha, article on, noticed *47* 62; in Ireland, article on, noticed 47 64; in Dutchess Co., N. Y., account of, noticed *47* 118; and Nicholites *47* 12-19; and politics, 1652-1660, dissertation on, noticed *47* 46; in American fiction, dissertation on, noticed *47* 47; American and English, dissertation on relations between, 1750-1785, noticed *47* 47; and French Revolution, article on, noticed *47* 60; in Pennsylvania, article on, noticed *47* 61; in Jamaica, article on, noticed *47* 62, research in progress on *50* 52; and Pilgrims, article on, noticed *47* 62; and loyalty oaths, article on, noticed *47* 62; and George Villiers, article on, noticed *47* 63; article on social origin of, noticed *47* 123; in England, and the American Civil War, article on, noticed *47* 123; and Francis Mercurius van Helmont, article on, noticed *47* 123; and international law *48* 3-20; and public service *48* 5-6; toleration of *48* 6-7; in 18th century *48* 7, 8; and government *48* 8; and public policy *48* 11-20; difference between British and American *48* 13; and internationalism *48* 14-20; national differences *48* 16; in Adams Co., Pa., research in progress on *48* 63; in Delaware, research in progress on *48* 64; in Erie Co., N. Y., research in progress on *48* 64; at Byberry, Pa., history of, noticed *48* 75; and Christmas, article on, noticed *48* 75; and the Lake poets, article on, noticed *48* 79; visit of Francisco de Miranda to *48* 128-130; in Wales, research in progress on *48* 132, article on migration to Pa., noticed *48* 140; in Indiana, article on, noticed *48* 139; and psychiatry, article on, noticed *48* 144; on the Pacific Coast *49* 17-19; independent meetings in the U. S. *49* 5, 18; in *Dictionary of American Biography 49* 47; and Roger Williams, article on, noticed *49* 57; article on Mennonites and, noticed *49* 60; and Peter I of Russia, article on, noticed *49* 63; and George Washington *49* 67-83, article on, noticed *50* 61; in the American Revolution *49* 76-77, dissertation on, noticed *47* 47, research in progress on *50* 52; in Maryland, research in progress on *50* 53, in Talbot Co., Md., article on, noticed *48* 76-77, in Caroline Co., Md. *48* 83-102; and Russia, research in progress on *50* 53; in Chesterhill, Ohio, history of, noticed *50* 60-61; articles on John Brown and, noticed *50* 61; slavery among *50* 87; in Kansas, 1854-1865 *50* 96-101, during Civil War *50* 99-100; pastoral system among *50* 102; as settlers in Minnesota, article on, noticed *50* 124; and Dissenting Deputies of 18th century, article on, noticed *50* 124-125; in Jericho, L. I., article on, noticed *50* 125; and George III of Eng., article on, noticed *50* 128; and tithes, article on, noticed *50* 128

Friends' Association of Phila. for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen, by Henrietta S. Jaquette *46* 67-83; summary of methods *46* 72-83; helps public schools *46* 80, 81, 82

Friends Bible and Tract Distributing Association *46* 77

Friends Central School, Phila. *46* 7-8

Friends churches in Calif., account of, noticed *50* 126

Friends Committee for Refugees and Aliens, research in progress on *46* 46

"Friends for Seventy-five Years," by Howard H. Brinton *49* 3-20

Friends' Freedmen's Association, Phila. Yearly Meeting, (Arch Street) *46* 72

Friends General Conference *46* 85, 93, *49* 12

Friends Historical Association *46* 4; Annual Meetings *46* 48, *47* 50-51, *48* 65, *49* 50, *50* 55; Constitution and Bylaws *47* 124-128; Spring Meetings *46* 116, *47* 106, *48* 133, *49* 118, *50* 111; Treasurer's Reports *46* 49, *47* 52

Friends' Historical Society (U.S.) *46* 4

Friends Hospital in 1850 *48* 58

Friends' Intelligencer, poll on League of Nations *46* 92

Friends Mission Board *49* 10

Friends Neighborhood Guild, Phila., research in progress on *49* 117

Friends of Philadelphia for the Western District Meeting *46* 5

FRIENDS Pacific Academy. *See* George Fox College
FRIENDS' Reference Library, London, 1901-1959, article on, noticed *50* 64
Friends Review. See *The American Friend*
FRIENDS Select School, Phila. *49* 9
FRIENDS Service Council *48* 15
FRIENDS World Conferences, 1920, 1937 *48* 15
FRITZ, Henry E., research in progress on Indian reform *49* 48; article on Pres. Grant's Indian policy, noticed *50* 61
FRORER, James R. *46* 45*n*
FRY, Benjamin *50* 104
FRY, Christopher, research in progress on *49* 117
FRY, Daniel *50* 104
FRY, Elizabeth *46* 59, *49* 99; account of, noticed *47* 119-120
FRY, Joan Mary, biography of, noticed *49* 61
FRY, Judith *50* 104
FULGHAM, Benjamin *48* 50, 56
FUNDAMENTALIST trends, Five Years Meeting *49* 11-17
FURLEY, John. *See* Furly, John
FURLY, Benjamin *47* 30
FURLY, John (d. 1673), before Privy Council *49* 36-42
FURLY, John (d. 1686) *49* 38, 38*n*, 39-40
FURLY, Stephen *49* 37
FURNAS, Paul J., research in progress on Allen Jay *49* 48
FURNITURE makers in colonial Philadelphia *47* 67-72
FUSSELL, Clarissa *48* 36

G

GALE, Abijah *50* 74
GALE, Samuel *50* 74
GALLAGHER, J., article on Fowell Buxton and Africa, noticed *47* 61
GALPHIN, George *48* 34*n*
GARA, Larry, edits "Henri Herz' Description of the American Quakers" *46* 111-114; reviews *Yardley Warner, the Freedman's Friend*, by Warner *47* 54; reviews *Make Free: The Story of the Underground Railroad*, by Breyfogle *48* 70; reviews *A Quaker Pioneer: Laura Haviland, Superintendent of the Underground*, by Danforth *50* 116-117; reviews *Freedom from Fear: The Slave and His Emancipation*, by Sherrard *50* 116-117; *The Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground Railroad*, reviewed *50* 117-120
GARDEN, Dr. Alexander *47* 35, 36
GARDNER, Hezekiah B. *47* 79
GARRETT, Alfred *49* 8-9
GARRETT, Rufus *47* 100*n*, 104
GARRISON, Theodore R., research in progress on John Greenleaf Whittier *48* 131
GARRISON, William Lloyd *50* 33, 35, 42
GAUNTT, Jefferson, article on his portrait of Elias Hicks, noticed *48* 143
GAUSE, Fanny *46* 76, 79
GAUSE, Samuel *46* 102*n*
GENERAL Mills, history of, noticed *47* 59-60
GEOLOGICAL survey, John Bartram on *47* 36-38
GEORGE III of England and Friends, article on, noticed *50* 128
GEORGE, John *48* 85, 86
GEORGE, John M., article on, noticed *48* 143
GEORGE Fox College *46* 106
GEORGE School, Pa. *48* 143
"GEORGE Washington and the Quakers," by Paul F. Boller, Jr. *49* 67-83
GEORGIA, Quaker town of Wrightsborough in *46* 10-22; article on Friends in, noticed *46* 124
GERMAN Emergency Committee of the Society of Friends. *See* Friends Committee for Refugees and Aliens
GERMANTOWN Antislavery Petition of 1688, article on, noticed *48* 140
GERMANY, food blockade of *48* 15; Friends at Pyrmont, article on, noticed *48* 144
GIBSON, Albion *47* 100*n*, 104
GIBSON, Isaac T., article on, noticed *48* 142
GIBSON, William *46* 63
GIDDINGS, Joshua *48* 32, 33, 34
GIFFORD, George E., Jr., article on Daniel Defoe and Maryland, noticed *47* 58
GILBERT, Leslie, article on John Bright and the Factory Acts, noticed *49* 127
GILL, Joseph, of Md. *48* 85
GILL, Joseph, of Ireland, account of visit to America, noticed *50* 59
GILPIN, Joshua, article on, noticed *49* 62
GILPIN, Thomas, article on, noticed *49* 56, 62
GILPIN family of Delaware, article on, noticed *47* 57-58
GIPSON, Lawrence Henry, study of Delaware, noticed *50* 59
GLADSTONE, William E. *49* 45, 45*n*, 46
GLASGOW, article on Quaker burial ground at, noticed *47* 56

GLASTONBURY Abbey *46* 8
GODDARD, Dr. Henry *49* 6
GODDARD family, Vt. *50* 73
GODFREY, Alene, edits journal of Gerard T. Hopkins, noticed *48* 142
GODKIN, E. L. *50* 35
GOERKE, Edmund, article on Friends in Hungary, 1662, noticed *46* 62; article on Josiah Cole and Thomas Thurston, noticed *47* 122; research in progress on 17th-century Quakerism *50* 52
GOETHE, Johann Wolfgang von, mention of contact with Friends, noticed *46* 58
GOODBODY, Harold P., article on, noticed *50* 61
GOODBODY, Marcus, article on, noticed *50* 61
GOODBODY, Olive C., abstracts Dublin Quaker wills, noticed *47* 60; article on early Ireland, noticed *47* 64, on Dublin Friends, noticed *47* 64
GOODBODY, Robert, article on, noticed *50* 61
GOOSE Creek Meeting, Va. *50* 6*n*
GORDON, Charles George, poem by Whittier on, noticed *50* 127
GOSTELOW, Jonathan *47* 69
GOULDNEY, Adam *50* 64
GOVERNMENT, Friends and *48* 8
GOWAN, Elsie Park, article on Mary Schaffer, noticed *49* 56
GRAHAM, John *46* 22
GRAHAME, Pauline, article on Coppoc brothers, noticed *50* 61
GRAND ISLE, Vt. *50* 73
GRANGE Meeting, Ireland, history of, noticed *50* 122
GRANT, Ulysses S. *49* 32; his Indian policy *47* 82-84, article on, noticed *50* 61, research in progress on Friends and *49* 48
GRATTON, John, John Woolman's reading of *48* 113
GRAY, Edmund. *See* Grey, Edmund
GRAY, Isaac *46* 19
GRAY, James, history of General Mills, noticed *47* 59-60
GRAY, Richard D., article on Thomas Gilpin, noticed *49* 56
GRAY, William *48* 91
GRAY family *48* 144
GREATER Meeting House, Phila. *48* 129*n*
GREATHOUSE, Jacob *46* 19
GREEN, Isaac *46* 19
GREEN, Theophilus, article on, noticed *50* 63
GREEN Plain Quarterly Meeting, Ind. *46* 99
GREEN Street Meeting, Phila., memorial for Abraham Lincoln *46* 41-43
GREENE, Howard, edits journals of Welcome Arnold Greene, noticed *47* 59
GREENE, Maud H., article on the Rogerenes, noticed *48* 140
GREENE, Nathanael *49* 71, 72, 126; letters of, noticed *49* 62, to Samuel Ward, noticed *46* 58; biographical sketch by Joseph Reed, noticed *49* 62; biography of, noticed *50* 125
GREENE, Dr. Rowland *50* 78
GREENE, Welcome Arnold, journals of, noticed *47* 59
GREENSBORO, N. C., history of, noticed *49* 126
GREENSBORO Meeting, Md. *48* 87
GREENWOOD, Grace. *See* Lippincott, Sarah J. C.
GREENWOOD, Ormerod, research in progress on English Friends work abroad *46* 7; edits letter of John Woolman, noticed *47* 123; article on James Nayler, noticed *48* 80; article on Elizabeth Bevan Tonjoroff, noticed *50* 63
GREGORY, William Henry *47* 21-22
GRELLET, Rebecca *48* 59
GRELLET, Stephen *48* 38, 38*n*, 59, 60; on the Nicholites *47* 11, 11*n*
GREY, Charles Grey, 2nd earl *49* 108
GREY, Edmund *46* 11, 12
GRIFFEE, Joshua *46* 11
GRIFFIN, Clarissa *48* 56
GRIFFITH, Edith *50* 106
GRINNELL, Jeremiah *50* 104, 106
GRISCOM, John *48* 38, 38*n*
GRISCOM, Margaret *46* 71, 72
GROUP dynamics, research in progress on Friends and *48* 132
GROVE Preparative Meeting, Ohio *46* 100*n*
GUDGION, Steven *48* 85
GUETTARD, Jean E. *47* 38
GUILFORD College *46* 106, *49* 12, 13-15
GUINEA, L. I., article on Quaker school for Negroes at, noticed *47* 56
GUION, Jeanne, John Woolman's reading of *48* 111*n*, 113
GUMMERE, Amelia Mott *46* 4
GUMMERE, Richard M., article on John Dickinson, noticed *50* 127
GURNEY, Anna *49* 100
GURNEY, Eliza P. *46* 40, *50* 108
GURNEY, John Henry *49* 100
GURNEY, Joseph *49* 99, 105, 105*n*
GURNEY, Joseph John *46* 47, 59, *48* 10, 29*n*, 40, 144, *49* 6-7, 8*n*, 31, *50* 79; research in progress on *48* 132; and economic life of Norwich *49* 96-110;

ministry *49* 99-100; relief work in Norwich *49* 105-109; banking career *49* 98-103, 109; in politics, article on, noticed *50* 63-64; and Charles Simeon, article on, noticed *50* 124
GURNEY, Richard Hanbury *49* 105, 105*n*
GURNEY, Samuel *49* 99, 101, 102, 109; article on, noticed *46* 62
GURNEY family, study of, noticed *48* 76
GURNEYITE-WILBURITE conflict, Phila. Yearly Meeting (Arch St.) *49* 3-4, 6-11, 19-20
GWYNEDD Hall, Pa., article on, noticed *47* 120

H

HACKINS Hey, Liverpool, article on meetinghouse at, noticed *46* 59
HADDON, Elizabeth *47* 122
HADDON, John *47* 122
HADDONFIELD, N. J., article on, noticed *47* 122
HADLEY, Ira *50* 98
HADLEY, Jonathan T. *49* 58
HADLEY, Wendell Emmett, dissertation on Quaker colleges, noticed *47* 47
HADLEY family, Ohio *49* 58
HAGUE Peace Conference, Third *48* 13
HAHN, Marian S., research in progress on Christopher Fry *49* 117
HAIGHT, Bridget *50* 79
HAILEY, David *46* 11
HAINES, Zebedee *49* 9
HAINES family, Phila. *48* 137
HAISTWELL, Edward *50* 48
HAJOCA Corporation, Phila., history of, noticed *48* 137
HALE, John Parker *48* 33, 33*n*, 34
HALEROW, E. M., edits *Charges to the Grand Jury, 1660-1677, by Sir Peter Leicester,* noticed *48* 77
HALHEAD, Miles, article on trial of, noticed *50* 128
HALL, Catharine *46* 76
HALL, David *47* 75*n*
HALL, Edna M., research in progress on Samuel Fisher and doctrine of the Holy Spirit *48* 63
HALL, John, article on, noticed *46* 127
HALL, S. Garlin, research in progress on Henry J. Cadbury's study of Jesus *50* 52
HALL, Susanna. *See* Norris, Susanna
HALLOWELL, Benjamin *46* 7
HALLOWELL, Marguerite, "Some Quaker Furniture Makers in Colonial Philadelphia" *47* 67-72
HAMILTON, Gail *50* 38, 42, 43
HAMPTON, Mary *46* 63
HANCOCK, Cornelia *46* 72, 74, 79-80, 81, 123-124; life of, noticed *48* 140
HANCOCK, Harold B., article on Gilpin family, Del., noticed *47* 57-58; article on Thomas and Joshua Gilpin, noticed *49* 62; edits Civil War diaries of Anna M. Ferris, noticed *50* 127
HANDSOME Lake, Seneca Indian, article on religion of, noticed *49* 62
Hannah Penn and the Proprietorship of Pennsylvania, by Sophie Hutchinson Drinker, reviewed *48* 67-68
HARDING, Warren, pres. U.S. *46* 97, 97*n*
HARLAN, Joseph *48* 125
HARPER, Francis, edits *The Travels of William Bartram: Naturalist's Edition,* reviewed *47* 111-112
HARRIS, James *47* 4-5, 14, 15, *48* 88
HARRIS, Mary *47* 4
HARRIS, William *47* 4
HARRISON family *48* 144
HART, James *46* 19
HART, Peter *46* 19
HART, Samuel *46* 19
HARTSHORN, John *46* 19
HARTSHORNE, Dr. Henry, correspondence with Whittier *49* 111-116
HARVEY, George M. *50* 97
HARVEY, Margaret M., article on Whittier, noticed *47* 122
HARVEY family, Ohio *49* 58
HASELTINE, Phyllis, article on Whittier's books, noticed *47* 121
HASKINS, Asa *50* 72
HAUXHURST, Sarah. *See* Hawkshurst, Sarah
HAVENS, Teresina, article on Woolman's *Journal,* noticed *49* 59
HAVERFORD College *48* 37, *49* 9
HAVERFORD School. *See* Haverford College
HAVILAND, Henry M. *46* 88
HAVILAND, J. Bernard, reviews *Ackworth School,* by Vipont *50* 57-58
HAVILAND, Laura, biography of, by Danforth, reviewed *50* 116-117
HAVILAND, Kansas, article on Friends in, noticed *48* 139
HAWAII *50* 105
HAWKSHURST, Sarah *48* 30, 30*n*
HAWORTH, Elizabeth Smith *47* 80
HAWORTH, James E. *47* 92-93
HAWORTH, James M., article on *47* 80-93
HAWORTH, Sibyl J. *49* 35
HAYES, George Passmore, dissertation on Robert Barclay, noticed *47* 47

HAYES, Rutherford B., pres. U.S. *49* 31
HAYWARD, Arthur L., research in progress on Jordans Meeting *48* 63
HAYWARD, Eli *48* 36
HAZARD, Seneca *50* 79
HAZELTON, Robert Morton, *Let Fredom Ring! A Biography of Moses Brown,* reviewed *47* 54-55
HEALD, Philena *46* 73
HEATH, Carl *49* 10; research in progress on *46* 115
HECTOR Meeting, N. Y. *47* 101
HEDWORTH, Henry *50* 122
HEISS, Willard C., edits "The Chronicles of John and Zachariah; an incident in the history of midwestern Progressive Friends" *46* 99-105; research in progress on Jericho Meeting, Ind. *47* 49; list of Indiana meetings, noticed *48* 141; article on Honey Creek Meeting, Ind., noticed *48* 139; list of Indiana meeting records, noticed *49* 127; compiles records of Milford Meeting, Ind., noticed *50* 59-60; edits *Nathaniel Newlin's Trip to Indiana, 1819,* noticed *50* 123
HELD, Paul, *Quäker im Dienst am Nächsten,* article on, noticed *47* 64
HELMONT, Francis Mercurius van, article on Friends and, noticed *47* 123
HENDERSON, Norma E., research in progress on Friends in Jamaica *50* 52
HENDRICKS, Pieter *47* 30-31, *48* 80, *50* 64
HENNOCK, E. P., research in progress on Friends in Birmingham *49* 48
HENRY, Lou. *See* Hoover, Lou Henry
HENRY, William *48* 31
HEPLER, John C., research in progress on Whittier *47* 49; edits poems of Whittier, noticed *50* 127
HERONS, John *47* 17*n*
HERSHBERGER, Guy F., reviews *War Comes to Quaker Pennsylvania, 1682-1756,* by Davidson *47* 113-115; edits *The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision,* reviewed *47* 116; research in progress on Penn's Holy Experiment *48* 64
HERTZ, Karl Herbert, dissertation on the Holy Experiment, noticed *47* 47
HERZ, Henri, description of American Friends *46* 111-114
HEWITT, Anna B., compiles list of dissertations on Quaker history *47* 45-48; "Friendly Names in the Dictionary of American Biography" *49* 47
HIATT, Burritt M., "James M. Haworth, Quaker Indian Agent" *47* 80-93
HIATT, Joel *50* 97
HIBBERT Meeting, Can. *47* 105
HICKORY Grove Meeting, Mich. *46* 104*n*
HICKS, Edward *49* 61; article on, noticed *46* 62; "The Peaceable Kingdom" painting, reproduced *50,* No. 1, frontis., illus. facing p. 16; article on publication of *Memoirs* of, by Alice Ford *50* 4-11; article on, as poet, by Frederick B. Tolles *50* 12-30; on slavery *50* 13; verses *50* 16-20
HICKS, Elias *46* 47, *47* 13, 75, *48* 95, *49* 8, 94-95, *50* 4n, 23, 28, 73, 123; article on, noticed *46* 127; on Nicholites *47* 14*n;* article on portrait of, noticed *48* 143
HICKS, Elizabeth *50* 9, 10
HICKS, Henry W. *50* 6, 7, 8, 10
HICKS, Isaac (1767-1820), article on reputation of *47* 73-79
HICKS, Isaac (of Long Island), article on correspondence with John Comly, noticed *46* 127
HICKS, Isaac W. *50* 9
HICKS, Muriel A., article on Friends' Reference Library, London, noticed *50* 64
HICKS, Susan. *See* Carle, Susan Hicks
HICKS, Susan Worstall *50* 11
HICKSITE Friends *49* 3-4
HICKSITE-ORTHODOX relationships in Indiana *49* 23, in Philadelphia *49* 5-6
HILL, Andrew *48* 42
HILL, George *48* 42, 43
HILL, Henry Bertram, edits "Henri Herz' Description of the American Quakers" *46* 111-114
HILL, James *46* 19
HILL, John, of Ga. *46* 19
HILL, John, of Can. *48* 42
HILL, Leonard U., *John Johnston and the Indians,* noticed *48* 141
HILL, Leslie Pinckney *50* 52
HILL family, Vermont *50* 73
HILLARY, Dr. William, of Barbados *49* 69
HILLIS, Samuel *48* 58
HILLYER, Laurie, article on Mary Dyer and Rufus M. Jones, noticed *46* 60
HINDES, Ruthanna, article on William Poole, noticed *47* 121
HINSDALE, Deborah. *See* Thomas, Deborah Hinsdale
HINSHAW, William Wade *46* 17
HINSHAW family, Minn. *50* 124
HINTZ, Howard W., article on Whittier, noticed *47* 63
HIRES, Charles Elmer *49* 47
"HISTORICAL News" *46* 48, 116-118, *47* 50-51, 106-107, *48* 65, 133, *49* 50, 118, *50* 55, 111

"History *in Cash Accounts,*" by Henry J. Cadbury *50* 46-51
History of Seventy Years of the Society of Friends in Japan, ed. by Kiyoshi Ukaji and Ichiro Koisumi, reviewed *47* 108-109
Hitler, Adolph *48* 15
Hitz, Alex M., "The Wrightsborough Quaker Town and Township in Georgia" *46* 10-22
Hixxon, William *46* 20
Hoag, Alvin *50* 104
Hoag, Enoch *47* 83, 87
Hoag, Joseph *47* 104, *50* 77-78, 79
Hoag, Joseph D. *50* 105, 108
Hoag, Lindley Murray *50* 79, 104, 105, 106, 108
Hoag, Nathan *48* 56
Hoare family, study of, noticed *48* 76
Hobart, John, article on Friends and the Bible, noticed *47* 62
Hobbs, Barnabas C., article on *49* 21-35; president of Earlham College *49* 28; visits Europe *49* 30-33
Hobbs, Benjamin *49* 22
Hobbs, Elisha *49* 21
Hobbs, Fanny McLane *49* 21
Hobbs, Lyndon *49* 14, 15
Hobbs, Mary Mendenhall *49* 14
Hobbs, Priscilla *49* 21-22
Hobbs, Rebecca *49* 26, 34
Hobbs, Samuel *49* 23
Hobbs, William *49* 21-22, 23
Hobson, William, article on, by Edward P. Thatcher *46* 106-110
Hoch, J. Hampton, research in progress on Sybilla Masters *50* 52
Hoch, Quintus, research in progress on Sybilla Masters *50* 52
Hodgin, John *46* 20
Hogg, O. F. G., article on William Penn and his descendants, noticed *50* 126
Holdsworth, Lucy Violet, reminiscences of, noticed *48* 77
Hole, Allen D. *46* 86, 91
Hole, Prof., of Ohio *50* 107
Holland, in George Fox's visions *47* 30-34
Holland Land Co. *48* 119, 123
Holliday, Ambrose *46* 20
Holliday, Robert *47* 17*n*
Hollingsworth, James *46* 100, 100*n*
Hollingsworth, Joseph, of Ga. *46* 20
Hollingsworth, Joseph, of Ohio *46* 100, 100*n*
Holme, Reginald *50* 49, 50
Holmes, J. Welfred, article on Whittier and Sumner, noticed *46* 125-126; dissertation on Whittier, noticed *47* 47; research in progress on Whittier and the Indian *48* 131
Holy Experiment, dissertation on, noticed *47* 47
Holy Spirit, research in progress on Quaker doctrine of *46* 47, *48* 63; article on, noticed *49* 128
Hominy, research in progress on Sybilla Masters and *50* 52
Honey Creek Meeting, Ind., article on, noticed *48* 139
Honey Creek Meeting, Iowa *46* 106, *50* 104
Hookes, Ellis *46* 63
Hoopes, Minta, history of Chesterhill, Ohio, noticed *50* 60-61
Hoopes, Sarah *46* 43
Hooton, Elizabeth *46* 63
Hooton, Samuel *46* 63
Hoover, Herbert *49* 17; article on, noticed *47* 120
Hoover, Lou Henry *47* 120
Hopkins, Gerard T., journal of, noticed *48* 142
Hopper, Elizabeth *50* 47*n*
Hopper, John *50* 28*n*
"Horizon of Fox's Early Visions," by Henry J. Cadbury *47* 30-34
Horney, James *47* 4
Hoskins family, Vermont *50* 73
Hoskins family, Can. *50* 75
Hough, Oliver *50* 11; letter to Edward Hicks *50* 7-8
Houston, Samuel *48* 33, 33*n*
Houston, Patrick *46* 22
How They Became Friends, by Howard H. Brinton, reviewed *50* 120
Howard, Benjamin *46* 20
Howard, Grace *49* 124
Howard, John, of Ga., *46* 20, 22
Howard, John, of Phila., *49* 124
Howard, Luke *47* 62
Howard, Sarah *49* 124
Howard, Thomas *49* 124
Howe, Frederic Clemson *49* 47
Howe, J. W. *48* 31
Howe, Gen. William *49* 71, 72, 74
Howell, James *46* 20
Howell, Samuel *47* 17*n*
Howells, William Dean *50* 38, 40, 41, 43
Howgill, Francis *46* 63, *47* 64, 123; John Woolman's reading of *48* 113
Howgill, Mary *47* 64
Howland, Emily *46* 72; sketch of school at Camp Todd, Va., 1865 *46,* No. 2, frontis.

HOWLAND, George, Jr. *48* 58, 58*n*
HOYLE, Benjamin *47* 41, 41*n*
HOYLE, H. *47* 41
HUBBARD, Harriet B. *46* 24
HUBBERTHORNE, Richard *48* 5
HUGHES, Merritt Y., reviews *John Scott of Amwell,* by Stewart *46* 54-55
HUGHES, Thomas *46* 109, 109*n*
HUGHLETT, R. *48* 92
HUGUENOTS *50* 22, 27
HULL, Eleanor, life of Shizuko Takahashi, noticed *48* 138
HULL, William I. *46* 97, *48* 12; on the League of Nations *46* 89-90, 94, 95, 96
HUME, James *46* 22
HUMPHREYS, Richard *50* 52
HUNGARY, article on Friends in, 1662, noticed *46* 62
HUNN, Susanna *47* 17*n*
HUNT, David *50* 105
HUNT, Edward Martin, research in progress on abolition of slave trade, 1787-1797 *48* 132
HUNT, Mabel Leigh, *Tomorrow Will be Bright,* noticed *47* 119
HUNT, Nathan *48* 35, 35*n*
HUNT, Norman C., *Two Early Political Associations: The Quakers and the Dissenting Deputies in the Age of Sir Robert Walpole,* reviewed *50* 115-116; article on Friends and the Dissenting Deputies, noticed *50* 124-125
HUNT, Percival, study on Samuel Pepys's description of William Penn, noticed *48* 142
HUNTER, John *46* 20
HUNTLEY family *48* 144
HUSSEY, Edward C. *47* 79
HUSSEY, George Fox *48* 29
HUSSEY, Gertrude Murray *48* 29
HUSSEY, Miriam, study of Samuel Wetherill's white lead business *46* 124
HUSTINGS, William W., research in progress on Freedmen's Normal Institute *48* 64
HUTCHINSON, John W. *46* 86
HUTCHINSON, Jonathan *49* 102
HUTSON, Thomas, article on, noticed *50* 64
HUTTON-LE-HOLE Meeting, article on, noticed *50* 64
HYDE, Edward, Lord Clarendon *49* 38

I

I Have Called You Friends: The Story of Quakerism in North Carolina, by Francis C. Anscombe, reviewed *49* 121-122
ILLINOIS, history of Fifty-seventh Street Meeting, Chicago, noticed *47* 61; Vermilion Quarterly Meeting *49* 35; research in progress on Friends in *49* 117, on Quaker school in Vermilion Grove *50* 53
INDIA *48* 12, 16
INDIAN Aid Association, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Arch St.) *49* 11
INDIAN Committee of Baltimore Yearly Meeting, 1804 *48* 142
INDIAN policy of Pres. Grant *47* 82-84; research in progress on Friends and *49* 48; article on, noticed *50* 61
INDIAN reform, research in progress on *49* 48
INDIANA, history of Farmers Institute Meeting, noticed *47* 118; in 1850 *48* 45-50; article on Honey Creek Meeting, noticed *48* 139; list of Friends meetings in, noticed *48* 141; article on Benjamin Hobbs *49* 35; history of Whitewater Meeting, noticed *49* 58; list of records of meetings in, noticed *49* 127; history of Jericho Meeting, noticed *50* 60; diary of Nathaniel Newlin's trip to, 1819, noticed *50* 123
INDIANA Yearly Meeting (Hicksite) *46* 99
INDIANA Yearly Meeting (Five Years Meeting) *46* 92-93, *49* 12, 33, *50* 97, 106, 107
INDIANS *48* 5; in Georgia *46* 15; Friends and *46* 82; journal of Halliday Jackson's visit to, noticed *47* 57; journal of John Philips' visit to, noticed *47* 57; Kiowa and Comanche, James M. Haworth as agent to *47* 80-93; research in progress on *48* 63; article on Philadelphia Yearly Meeting records on, noticed *48* 76; Oneida, in N.Y. *48* 116; Seneca, Jacob Taylor as missionary to *48* 116-127; research in progress on Whittier and *48* 131; account of John Johnston, agent, noticed *48* 141; article on Osage agency, noticed *48* 142; Cherokee *49* 33; article on religion of Handsome Lake, noticed *49* 62; George Washington and *49* 79-80; Friends and *49* 80
INDUSTRY, research in progress on Friends and *46* 115
INGHAM family, Pa. *46* 124
INNER Light *48* 5; research in progress on *47* 49, *49* 48; studies of, noticed *48* 77, *49* 59

INSTITUTE for Colored Youth. *See* Cheyney State College
INTERNATIONAL affairs, dissertation on Friends and, noticed *47* 46
INTERNATIONAL law, Friends and *48* 3-20
INTERNATIONALISM, Friends and *48* 14-20
IOWA, Progressive Friends of *46* 40-41, 41*n;* Friends in *50* 104-110
IOWA Yearly Meeting *50* 105, 106
IPSWICH, article on Friends school at, noticed *47* 57
IRELAND, article on Friends from, in Bristol records, noticed *47* 64; in the 17th century, article on, noticed *47* 64; article on early Quakerism in, noticed *47* 122-123; article on Mountmellick School, noticed *50* 125
IRIE, Yukio, reviews *The History of Seventy Years of the Society of Friends in Japan,* by Ukaji and Koizumi *47* 108-109
IRISH family, Vt. *50* 73
"IRISH Friend and the Civil War," by David Large *47* 20-29
IRON-MAKING, research in progress on *46* 115
IVINS, Aaron B. *46* 43

J

JACKSON, Absalom *46* 20
JACKSON, Benjamin *46* 20
JACKSON, Elmore, reviews *Quaker Ways in Foreign Policy,* by Byrd *49* 119-120
JACKSON, Halliday, journal of visit to Indians, noticed *47* 57
JACKSON, Hannah *48* 122
JACKSON, Henry *49* 39, 40, 40*n,* 42
JACKSON, Isaac *46* 20
JACKSON, John, research in progress on *47* 49
JACKSON, Marion F., article on Friends in Jericho, L. I., noticed *50* 125
JACKSON, Nathaniel *46* 20
JACKSON, Thomas *46* 20
JACKSON, Walter *46* 20
JACOB, Caroline N. *50* 122; articles on William Edmondson, noticed *47* 63, 122
JACOB, Joshua, memoir of family of, noticed *50* 122
JACOB, Louisa M., memoir of family of Joshua Jacob, noticed *50* 122
JACOB family *48* 144
JACOBS, Mary P. *46* 79
JAMAICA, articles on Friends in, noticed *47* 62, *49* 59; journal of John Candler's visit to, noticed *49* 59; research in progress on Friends in *50* 52
JAMES II, king of England *48* 4, *49* 36, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42; article on friendship of William Penn and, noticed *49* 125
JAMES, Sydney V., research in progress on Friends and the American Revolution *50* 52; "Quaker 'Charity' before the American Revolution" *50* 82-95
JANNEY, James M. *46* 101, 101*n*
JANNEY, Samuel M. *49* 8
JAPAN Committee, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Arch St.) *49* 11
JAPAN Yearly Meeting *49* 19
JAQUETTE, Henrietta Stratton, "Friends Association of Philadelphia for the Aid and Elevation of the Freedmen" *46* 67-83; edits letters of Cornelia Hancock, noticed *46* 123-124
JAY, Allen *49* 31; research in progress on *49* 48
JAY, John *49* 88, 89
JECKELL, Robert *50* 47
JEFFREYS, Russel *50* 106
JEFFRYS, John, John Woolman's reading of *48* 113
JENKINS, Elizabeth *48* 100
JENKINS, George *48* 55-56, 57
JENKINS, Jonathan *47* 77-78, 77*n,* 79
JENKINS, Sarah *48* 56, 57
JENKINS, SYLVANUS *47* 77-78
JEPSON family, Ia. *50* 104
JERICHO, L.I., article on Friends in, noticed *50* 125
JERICHO Meeting, Ind., research in progress on *47* 49; history of, noticed *50* 60
JERUSALEM *48* 17
JESSUP, Levi *48* 46
JEWELL, Keziah *50* 81
JEWELL family, Can. *50* 79
JEWELL family, Vt. *50* 73
JEWS *48* 15-16
JOB, Andrew *47* 58
JOB, Thomas *47* 58
JOHNSON, Anne C., research in progress on plain language *50* 52-53
JOHNSON, Donald, article on A. Mitchell Palmer, noticed *48* 139
JOHNSON, George Arthur, dissertation on spiritualism in the 17th century, noticed *47* 47
JOHNSON, Jane *46* 41, 43, *48* 37
JOHNSON, Joseph Esrey, dissertation on James Logan, noticed *47* 47
JOHNSON, Lewis *46* 22
JOHNSON, Oliver *48* 55, 55*n*
JOHNSON, Robert Underwood *49* 47
JOHNSON, Samuel (d. 1843) *50* 13, 30;

on slavery *50* 13-15; verses of *50* 14-15, 21-23
JOHNSON, Sind *47* 30
JOHNSON, Susan Wright *49* 43*n*
JOHNSON, William *48* 118
JOHNSON, Zachariah M. *46* 100, 100*n*, 101-102, 101*n*
JOHNSTON, John (d. 1861), account of, noticed *48* 141
JOHNSTON, Leslie, article on Friends school at Ipswich, noticed *47* 57; research in progress on Rawlinson Collection, Oxford *48* 64
JONES, Charles C. *46* 17-18
JONES, Eli *50* 106
JONES, Francis *46* 20
JONES, H. W. *47* 92
JONES, Howard Mumford, article on Whittier, noticed *47* 57
JONES, J. Clement, article on Wolverhampton Meeting, noticed *47* 123
JONES, John *46* 20
JONES, Louis T., article on John Brown and Friends, noticed *50* 61
JONES, Mary Hoxie, *The Standard of the Lord Lifted Up*, reviewed *50* 112-113; article on New England Yearly Meeting, noticed *50* 128
JONES, Obadiah *48* 50
JONES, Rufus M. *46* 47, *49* 4, 9; and Theodore Dreiser *46* 23-34, article on, noticed *47* 118; research in progress on *46* 46, 47, *49* 117; article on Mary Dyer and, noticed *46* 60; dissertations on, noticed *47* 46; studies of, noticed *47* 63, *48* 138; biography of, by Elizabeth Gray Vining, reviewed *48* 71-74; and the Far East, study of, noticed *48* 76; in Philadelphia Yearly Meeting *49* 8; letter of Joel Bean to *50* 104-110
JONES, Rebecca *48* 60, 60*n*
JONES, Rowland *48* 59
JONES, Silas *48* 101
JONES, Susanna *49* 75
JONES, Sybil *50* 105, 106
JONES, T. Canby *46* 47, 94*n*; research in progress on George Fox *46* 47; dissertation on George Fox, noticed *47* 47; reviews *Through Flaming Sword*, by Roberts, and *George Fox and the Quakers*, by van Etten *49* 54-55; article on George Fox and the Trinity, noticed *49* 128
JONES family, Phila. *48* 137
JORDAN, Richard *47* 13
JORDANS Meeting, research in progress on *48* 63
JOSIAS, Christian Karl, Baron Bunsen. *See* Bunsen, Christian Karl Josias, baron
JOSLEN, S. Stewart, Jr., article on Mullica Hill, N. J., noticed *46* 122
JUDSON, Sylvia Shaw *49* 63
JULIAN, George Washington, article on, noticed *47* 117

K

KALM, Peter *47* 36
KANSAS, research in progress on Quaker pacifism in *48* 63; article on Friends in Haviland, noticed *48* 139; history of Argonia Meeting, noticed *49* 125; Friends in, 1854-1865 *50* 96-101; Friends in, during the Civil War *50* 99-100
KANSAS-NEBRASKA Act, 1854 *50* 96
KASHMIR *48* 18
KEEFFE, William Roy, research in progress on Fox and Barclay *49* 48
KEESE, Catherine R., article on, noticed *49* 125
KEESE, Samuel *49* 125
KEITH, George *50* 48
KELLEY, Abigail *48* 55, 55*n*
KELLEY, Jonah, *48* 96, 97, 97*n*, 98
KELLEY, Jonah Springle *48* 100
KELLEY, William T. *48* 100
KELLEY family, Vt. *50* 73
KELLOGG-BRIAND Pact *48* 15, 16
KELLY, J. Reaney, research in progress on Friends in Maryland *50* 53; article on West River Quaker Burial Ground, Md., noticed *50* 125
KELSALL, John *50* 122
KELSEY, Rayner W. *46* 97; on the League of Nations *46* 94
KENT, Donald H., compiles *Bibliography of Pennsylvania History*, reviewed *47* 115-116
KENT Co. Meeting, Md. *48* 85
KENTUCKY *48* 51-52
KENWORTHY, Alexander W., research in progress on the Inner Light *49* 48
KERR, Charles *46* 63
KERR, Mary. *See* Day, Mary Kerr
KERR, William Nigel, research in progress on Henry Nicholas and the Familists *46* 47
KESSLER, Henry H., study of Peter Stuyvesant and New York, noticed *49* 59
KETCHAM, Ralph L., article on John Bartram and Joseph Breintnall, noticed *50* 121
"KICKAPOO Rangers" *50* 97-98

KICKING Bird, Kiowa chief *47* 87, 88-91
KILLAM, Joan *47* 123
KILLAM, Thomas *47* 123
KIMBALL, Harriet McEwen, letters of Whittier to, noticed *49* 56
KIMBER, Joshua *48* 40
KIMBER, Rachel *48* 40
KIMBER, Thomas, dissertation on Friends in American fiction, noticed *47* 47
KINCAID, Robert L., article on Robert M. Thomas, noticed *47* 121
KING, Arabella *49* 15
KING, Dean *48* 116*n*
KING, Harold E., research in progress on Quaker doctrine of the Holy Spirit *46* 47
KING, Rufus *49* 15
KING, T. Starr *49* 113*n*, 114, 115
KINGSTON-UPON-THAMES Meeting, studies of, noticed *46* 58, 62
KINSEY family, Pa. *46* 124
KIRBYMOORSIDE Meeting, article on, noticed *50* 64
KIRKBRIDE, Dr. Thomas Story *48* 37, 37*n*; letters to, 1860-1865, noticed *48* 138
KNIGHT, George Henry *48* 52, 52*n*
KNIGHT, Maria. *See* Candler, Maria Knight
KNIGHT, S. *48* 52
KNOWLES, David *50* 76; journey to the Indians *50* 78, 80
KNOWLES, Drusilla *50* 78, 80
KNOWLES, Henry *50* 76
KNOWLES, Jane B., research in progress on Quaker discipline *49* 48
KNOWLES, Phila *50* 75
KNOWLES, Sally *50* 74
KNOWLES, Samuel *50* 74, 77-78
KNOWLES family, Can. *50* 76, 79
KNOWLES family, Vt. *50* 73
KOHLER, Margaret, article on children of Morris Birkbeck, noticed *49* 63
KOIZUMI, Ichiro, edits *The History of Seventy Years of the Society of Friends in Japan*, reviewed *47* 108-109
KOOPMAN, Louise Osgood, article on Whittier, noticed *48* 79
KOREA *48* 17
KORNERUP, Bjørn, articles on Quakerism in Denmark and Norway, noticed *46* 59
KUHLMANN, Quirinus, articles on, noticed *47* 117

L

LADD family, N. Y. *50* 105
LAING, Henry M. *46* 80, 81
LAING School, Mt. Pleasant, S. C. *46* 79, 80, 81, 83
LAKE poets, article on Friends and, noticed *48* 79
LAMB, Charles *48* 79; article on Friends and, noticed *46* 56
LAMBERT, Lieutenant General *47* 123
LAMPE, Walther, *Goethe in Pyrmont*, noticed *46* 58
LANCASHIRE and Cheshire Quarterly Meeting *46* 64
LANCASTER, James *50* 49, 50
LANDON, Fred, article on Benjamin Lundy in Canada, noticed *50* 125
LANGENSKJÖLD, Greta, article on Quakerism in Finland, noticed *50* 59
LAO Tzu, and Rufus M. Jones, research in progress on *46* 47
LAPHAM family, Vt. *50* 73
LARGE, David, "An Irish Friend and the Civil War" *47* 20-29; article on English Friends and American Civil War, noticed *47* 123
LARSEN, Grace Hutchinson, dissertation on Thomas Clifford, noticed *47* 47
LATEY, Gilbert *48* 111*n*
LAW, Jonathan *50* 35, 36
LAW, William, compared to John Woolman *48* 110
LAW, article on Friends and the, noticed *46* 122-123
LAWRIE, Governor Gawen, of N. J., article on, noticed *47* 61
LAY, Benjamin *50* 19, 22, 28
LEAGUE of Nations *48* 16; Friends and *46* 86
LEAGUE to Enforce Peace *46* 86
LEE, Amos *48* 121
LEE, Hannah Hicks *50* 11
LEE, J. Stanley *50* 11
LEE, John *46* 20
LEICESTER, Sir Peter, *Charges to the Grand Jury, 1660-1677*, noticed *48* 77
LEICESTERSHIRE and Warwickshire Women's Meeting *48* 80
LEISTON Meeting, Eng., article on, noticed *50* 126
LEMARR, William *46* 20
LENAIR, Isabel *46* 79
LEONARD, A. G. K., article on Catharine Phillips, noticed *46* 127
Let Freedom Ring! A Biography of Moses Brown, by Robert Morton Hazelton, reviewed *47* 54-55
LETCHWOOD, John *47* 69*n*
LETCHWORTH, John *47* 71
LETTSOM, John Coakley *47* 120
LEVERTON, Moses *48* 91

Levick, Samuel J. *46* 43
Levick, William M. *46* 41, 71
Levy, Babette M., article on Peter Folger, noticed *48* 141; *Early Puritanism in the Southern and Island Colonies,* reviewed *50* 114-115
Liberty Bell, article on, noticed *50* 128
Liberty Line: The Legend of the Underground Railroad, by Larry Gara, reviewed *50* 117-120
Libraries, Quaker *46* 116-117, *47* 51, *48* 133
Lidbetter, Hubert, research in progress on Quaker meetinghouses *49* 49; note on Bristol Meetinghouse, noticed *46* 63
Lightfoot, Susanna, article on, noticed *47* 123
Lilburne, John *50* 63
Lincoln, Abraham *47* 25-26; two Quaker memorials for *46* 40-45; article on Friends and, noticed *48* 143; story of Friends visit with, noticed *49* 58
Lincoln, Vt. *50* 73
Lindeboom, J., article on Barchem movement, Holland, noticed *48* 78
Lindell, Alice Jaquette, research in progress on Friends in Delaware *48* 64
Lindenberg, Wladimir, study of the Inner Light, noticed *48* 77
Linder, Bridgett. *See* Pinder, Bridget
Lindley, Jacob *47* 60
Lindley, Robert *50* 105
Lindley family, Minn. *50* 124
Lindsay, Mary *49* 128
Lindsay, Robert *48* 56, 56*n*, 128
Linn, William. *See* Lynn, William
Linnegar, Isaac *47* 10*n*
Linton, Samuel, letters of, noticed *48* 139
Lippincott, Horace Mather *46* 42*n*
Lippincott, Mary S. *46* 43, 44
Lippincott, Ruth B., edits *The Balderston Family, Colora Branch,* noticed *50* 123
Lippincott, Sarah Jane Clarke *48* 33, 33*n*, 35
Lipscomb, Patrick C., III, research in progress on abolition of slave trade *48* 64
Liquor on the frontier *47* 84-85
Little Thakeham Meeting, article on, noticed *47* 63
Littler, Esther, research in progress on Friends and group dynamics *48* 132
Livermore, Edward St. Loe *46* 58
Livermore, Harriet *46* 58
Liverpool (Hackins Hey), article on meetinghouse at, noticed *46* 59
Livezey, Helen Corson, article on Livezey family, noticed *49* 124-125
Livezey, John *48* 37
Livezey family, Pa., article on, noticed *49* 124-125
Llewellyn, William T., article on Cheltenham Meeting, Pa., noticed *46* 127
Lloyd, Arnold, research in progress on Quaker social history *48* 131-132
Lloyd, Bailey *48* 37
Lloyd, Charles *48* 79, *50* 122; research in progress on *47* 49
Lloyd, David, dissertation on, noticed *47* 47; biography of, reviewed *49* 52-53
Lloyd, Elizabeth *48* 59, 59*n*, 60
Lloyd, Mary Ann *48* 37
Lloyd, Morgan, study of, noticed *46* 115
Lloyd, Robert *48* 79
Lloyd, Samuel *50* 104
Lloyd, Sarah E. *46* 76
Lloyd, Thomas *50* 122
Lloyd family *46* 56, *49* 96
Lloyds Bank, London, history of, noticed *48* 137-138
Lockridge, Robert *46* 20
Logan, George, and George Washington *49* 81-82
Logan, James *46* 64; research in progress on *46* 46; biography of, by Tolles, reviewed *46* 53-54; articles on, noticed *46* 57, 125; article on, as scientist, noticed *46* 57; article on library of, noticed *46* 59-60; study of his experiments with corn, noticed *46* 123; dissertation on, noticed *47* 47
Logan, Martha, letters to John Bartram, noticed *49* 58
Logan, Sarah. *See* Fisher, Sarah
Logan, William, article on, noticed *48* 137
Lokken, Roy Norman, dissertation on David Lloyd, noticed *47* 47; *David Lloyd: Colonial Lawmaker,* reviewed *49* 52-53
London Yearly Meeting *48* 7, 9, 11-12, *49* 32, 33; research in progress on overseas work of *46* 47, on advices and queries of *48* 64; 1834-1890, article on, noticed *50* 64; *Christian Faith and Practice,* reviewed *50* 112-113
Lone Wolf, Kiowa chief *47* 89
Long, J. C., article on George III and Friends, noticed *50* 128
Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth *46* 110, *49* 111
Longshore, Marion H., account of Middletown Meeting (Bucks Co.), Pa., noticed *49* 61
Longstreth, Hannah T. *46* 41, 43
Longstreth, Helen *46* 72
Longstreth, Lydia *46* 41

LORD, Jeanette Mather, article on John Brown in Iowa, noticed *49* 60
LOUIS XIV, of France *46* 63-64
LOVELL, Robert, article on, noticed *46* 63
LOW, Isaac *46* 20
LOWE, Berenice, article on Sojourner Truth, noticed *46* 123
LOWELL, James Russell *50* 40, 41
LOWENHERZ, Robert J., article on Roger Williams and Friends *49* 57
LUNDY, Benjamin, in Canada, article on, noticed *50* 125
LURTING, Thomas *48* 5
LUTHER, Martin *50* 22, 27
LUTZ, Alma, *Susan B. Anthony,* reviewed *48* 134-135
LYNN, Thomas *46* 20
LYNN, William *46* 20
LYON, Peter, article on Elizabeth C. Stanton and Susan B. Anthony, noticed *49* 58
LYONS, Genevieve *47* 101
LYONS, Hiram *47* 101

M

MCALEER, John J., research in progress on letters of Whittier *49* 117; "Whittier's Quest for Humility" *50* 31-45
MCBRIDE, Mary *46* 74
MCCALL, Hugh *46* 17
MCCONNELL, Jane T., life of Cornelia Hancock, noticed *48* 140
MCCORD, David, poem on Whittier, noticed *47* 120
MCCORD, Norman, *The Anti-Corn Law League*, noticed *49* 56
MCCRACKEN, Henry Noble, history of Dutchess Co., N. Y., noticed *47* 118
MCDOWELL, Mary S., biographical account of, noticed *50* 126
MCDUFFIE Co., Ga. *46* 10
MCFARLAND, James *46* 20
MCFARLAND, Lewis *49* 15
MCFARLAND, William *46* 20
MCGUFFEY, William *49* 25
MCKAY, James *46* 22
MCKISSOCK, T. *48* 31
MCLANE, Fanny. *See* Hobbs, Fanny McLane
MACLEAR, J. F., reviews *The Welsh Saints, 1640-1660,* by Nuttall *47* 53
MCCLEN, Robert *46* 20
MACLURE, William *47* 38
MADDOCK, Joseph *46* 13, 16-17, 18, 20
MADISON, James *50* 121
Make Free: The Story of the Underground Railroad, by William Breyfogle, reviewed *48* 70
MAKEFIELD Meeting, Pa. *49* 61, *50* 11
MALTSBERGER, J. T., research in progress on Caspar Wistar *49* 117
MANN, Horace *48* 33, 33*n*, 34
MANN, Issachar *48* 125
MANSFIELD, E. D. *49* 25
MANUEL, Don *46* 112, 112*n*
MAPLES, Mary, article on William Penn, noticed *46* 125; research in progress on William Penn *47* 49
MARINE, Harriet P. *47* 9*n*
MARINE, Jonathan *47* 9, 10*n*
MARINE, William *47* 9*n*
MARINE, Zorobabel *47* 9*n*
MARIPOSA Meeting, Can. *47* 104
MARLIN, Charles Lowell, research in progress on Jemima Wilkinson *50* 53
MARRIAGE discipline, article on, noticed *47* 123
MARRIAGES, of Nicholites *47* 5-6
MARSDEN, William *49* 87
MARSHY Creek Meeting, Md. *47* 6, *48* 83-102 passim
MARTIN, Isaac *47* 13, 15
MARWICK, William H., article on Quaker business firms, noticed *48* 144
MARYLAND, article on Daniel Defoe and, noticed *47* 58; in 1850 *48* 57-58; article on Friends in Talbot Co., noticed *48* 76-77, in Caroline Co., *48* 83-102; research in progress on Friends in *50* 53; article on West River Quaker Burial Ground, noticed *50* 125
MASLIN, James *47* 17*n*
MASSACHUSETTS, article on New-Light Quakers of, noticed *49* 59; article on Friends in Dartmouth, noticed *50* 126
MASSEY, Vera N., articles on James Nayler, noticed *50* 62
MASTERS, Sybilla, research in progress on *50* 52
MATHEWS, J. Chesley, article on Whittier and Dante, noticed *47* 120
MATHEWS, Oliver *46* 20
MATTHEWSTOWN, Md. *47* 6
MAURICE, Frederick Denison, on Friends *49* 96-97
MAXWELL, Elizabeth *47* 58
MAYFLOWER (ship) *47* 62
MEADER, Mary T. *50* 104
MEADER family, Can. *50* 75, 76
MEADER family, Ia. *50* 104
MEADER family, Vt. *50* 73
MEEK, Frederick M., article on Whittier, noticed *48* 78
MEETINGHOUSES, at Hackins Hey, Liver-

pool, article on, noticed *46* 59; of Nicholites *47* 6, 6*n;* articles on, noticed *47* 63, *48* 76; research in progress on *49* 49, *50* 53, in New England *50* 53; article on stables and sheds of, noticed *50* 59
MEIDEL, Christopher, article on, noticed *46* 59
MEKEEL, Arthur Jacob, dissertation on Friends in the American Revolution, noticed *47* 47
MELONEY, William *48* 96
MELVIN, Frank W., article on William Penn, noticed *48* 142
MEMBERSHIP in the Society of Friends, article on, noticed *46* 127
MENALLEN Meeting, Pa., research in progress on *49* 48
MENDENHALL, Allen Willard, research in progress on Quaker school, Vermilion Grove, Ill. *50* 53
MENNONITES *48* 140, *49* 31, 32; study of Quaker influence on, noticed *46* 58; article on Friends and, noticed *49* 60
MERION, Pa., article on, noticed *48* 142
MERLEN, Joanna Baker, biography of Maria Mitchell, noticed *50* 125
MERRILL, William Stetson, article on Whittier, noticed *48* 77
MERRITT, Joseph *46* 102*n*, 103-105
METCALF, Rachel *50* 106
METHODISM, Quakerism and, in Maryland *48* 94
MEXICO *48* 17
MEYER, Harold I., article on Cedar Creek Meetinghouse, Va., noticed *46* 122
MIAMI Meeting, Ohio *46* 99-105, 105*n*
MIAMI Quarterly Meeting, Ohio *46* 103
MICHENER, Ezra *46* 43
MICHIGAN, article on Sojourner Truth in, noticed *46* 123
MICHIGAN Quarterly Meeting *46* 104*n*
MIDDLETON, Holland *46* 20
MIDDLETON, Holland, Jr. *46* 20
MIDDLETON, Mary *46* 7
MIDDLETOWN Meeting (Bucks Co.), Pa., account of, noticed *49* 61
MIDGELY, James, article on library of, in Manchester, noticed *46* 64
MIDWIVES, Quaker, in Barbados, article on, noticed *48* 76
MIFFLIN, Anne *47* 17*n*
MIFFLIN, Sarah *47* 17*n*
MIFFLIN, Warner *47* 17*n;* and George Washington *49* 67-68, 69, 74, 79
MILES, Daniel *46* 20
MILES, William *46* 20
MILFORD Meeting, Ind. *48* 93; records of, noticed *50* 59-60
MILITARISM in the U. S., history of, noticed *46* 57
MILITIA, Quaker, in Georgia *46* 15
MILL, John Stuart *49* 45, 45*n*
MILLER, C. William, article on Benjamin Franklin's type, noticed *46* 126
MILLER, Joanna *50* 104
MILLER, John *50* 104
MILLER, Mary *50* 104
MILLER, Mary McGregor, history of the Warder family, Ohio, noticed *47* 61
MILLER, Richmond P., "Race Street Meeting House, 1856-1956" *46* 3-9; reviews *Some Quaker Portraits, Certain and Uncertain,* by Nickalls *48* 66-67
MILLIGAN, Edward H., article on meetinghouses, noticed *47* 63; article on London Yearly Meeting, 1834-1890, noticed *50* 64
MILLS College *49* 17
MILLVILLE Meeting, Pa. *47* 61
MINNESOTA, article on Quaker settlers in, noticed *50* 124
MINNOTT, George, article on Friends in Jamaica, noticed *47* 62
MIRANDA, General Francisco de, and Friends *48* 128-130
MISSION Board, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Arch St.). *See* Japan Committee
MISSIONS in Jamaica, research in progress on *50* 52
MITCHELL, J. F., article on Quaker burial ground in Glasgow, noticed *47* 56
MITCHELL, Maria, article on, noticed *48* 141; biography of, noticed *50* 125
MITCHELL, Ormsby *49* 25
MITCHELL, William *46* 20
Moby Dick, article on second personal pronoun in, noticed *50* 127
MODERNIST trends, Five Years Meeting *49* 11-17
MOLE Street, Phila. *46* 6*n*
MOLINOS, Miguel de, John Woolman's reading of *48* 111*n*
MOLLESON, Gilbert *48* 80
MONAGHAN, Hanna Darlington, research in progress on George Fox *48* 132
MONAHON, Clifford P., edits letters of Nathanael Greene, noticed *46* 58, *49* 62
MONKTON, Vt. *50* 73
MOODY, Lady Deborah, study of, noticed *46* 125
MOOK, Maurice A., article on stamps commemorating Friends, noticed *46* 62;

research in progress on Quaker folklore *48* 132; article on Quaker folklore, noticed *49* 59
Moon, Philip C., article on Whittier, noticed *47* 57
Mooney, Joseph *46* 20
Moore, J. Floyd, article on Whittier, noticed *47* 62; *Rufus Jones, Luminous Friend,* noticed *48* 138
Moore, John *46* 20
Moore, Joseph *49* 29
Moore, Lindley Murray *48* 37
Moore, Margaret, article on Friends and Western Yearly Meeting, noticed *48* 139
Moore, Mordecai *46* 20
Moore, Richard, of Ga. *46* 21
Moore, Richard, of Phila. *46* 43
Moore, Thomas *46* 21
Moore, William, English Friend, article on, noticed *46* 62
Moore, William, Mayor of Colchester *49* 36, 38, 39
Morals, Quaker, article on, noticed *46* 122
Morgan, Ephraim *48* 51
Moriarty, G. Andrews, article on William Edmondson, noticed *46* 57
Morland, Ethel Crawshaw, article on, noticed *50* 64
Morley, Frank *49* 47
Morris, E. Ronald, research in progress on Quakerism in Wales *49* 117
Morris, George *49* 92
Morris, Israel *48* 37, *49* 7
Morris, Lewis, research in progress on *49* 117
Morris, Nathan *48* 49, 50
Morris, Samuel *49* 9
Morrisby, Edwin, article on Darby family, noticed *48* 78
Morrison, John I. *49* 24-25
Mortimer, Russell S., article on Midgely Library, noticed *46* 64; article on Quaker records, noticed *46* 126; article on Irish Friends in Bristol Meeting records, noticed *47* 64; article on early marriage discipline, noticed *47* 123; article on Bristol Meeting, noticed *48* 144
Morton, J. *48* 31
Morton, Gov. Oliver P. *49* 27, 29
Moseley, T. Robert, research in progress on New York Manumission Society *47* 49
Mote, Marcus, article on, noticed *47* 56
Motherkill Meeting, Del. *47* 6
Mott, Abigail, *48* 59
Mott, Edward *47* 102
Mott, Hannah Townsend *46* 102*n*
Mott, James *46* 43
Mott, John *46,* 102, 102*n*, 103-105
Mott, Lucretia *46* 71, 110, *47* 117, *48* 95; biography of, by Cromwell, reviewed *48* 69-70; research in progress on *50* 53-54
Mott, R. A., research in progress on early iron-making *46* 115; article on Abraham Darby, noticed *47* 58
Mott, Richard *48* 29, 29*n*, 38, 59, 60
Mount Holly, N.J., schoolhouse *50* 46-47; articles on, noticed *49* 126
Mount Pleasant, Ohio, *48* 56
Mount Pleasant, S.C. *46* 79
Mount Pleasant School, Ohio *49* 26
Mount Pleasant Yearly Meetinghouse, Ohio *47* 44; article on, noticed *46* 123
Mountmellick School, Ireland, article on, noticed *50* 125
Moxon, William, article on trial of, noticed *50* 128
Muddy Creek Meeting, Va. *48* 84
Mulberry trees *50* 17
Mullica Hill, N.J., article on, noticed *46* 122
Muncy Meeting, Pa. *47* 61
Munro, Abby *46* 81
Munroe, John A., article on Delaware Valley, noticed *48* 142
Murphey, Edward *46* 21
Murphey, James *48* 89
Murphy, James, article on meetinghouse at Hackins Hey, Liverpool, noticed *46* 59
Murphy, Joab *50* 100
Murray, Elizabeth Colden *48* 30, 30*n*
Murray, Gertrude. *See* Hussey, Gertrude Murray
Murray, Hannah *48* 30, 30*n*
Murray, Mary Ann *48* 30, 30*n*
Murray, Robert I. *48* 29, 29*n*, 30, 30*n*
Murray, Ruth *50* 105
Muscatine Meeting, Ia. *50* 104
Myers, Albert Cook, *Quaker Arrivals at Philadelphia, 1682-1750,* 2nd ed., noticed *47* 56; obituary of *49* 118
Mysticism, research in progress on, in R. M. Jones and Lao Tzu *46* 47; John Woolman's reading in *48* 103-115; American, research in progress on *48* 132

N

Nantucket, architectural study of, noticed *50* 60

NAYLER, James, articles on, noticed *46* 127, *48* 80, *50* 62
NEAL, John *50* 32, 33
NEALL, Daniel *46* 71
NEALL, Solomon *48* 87
NEBRASKA Central College, article on, noticed *48* 79
NECK Meeting, Md. *See* Tuckahoe Neck Meeting, Md
NEEL, William *48* 49
NEGROES, article on Quaker school for, at Guinea, L.I., noticed *47* 56
NERHOOD, Harry W., research in progress on Whittier, Cal., Institute of International Relations *50* 53
NESHAMINA Meeting, Pa. *See* Middletown Meeting, Pa. (Bucks Co.)
NEW England, research in progress on meetinghouses in *50* 53; pageant on history of Quakerism in, noticed *50* 127
NEW England Antislavery Society, article on, noticed *47* 56
NEW England Yearly Meeting, first meeting of *50* 46; history of, by Mary Hoxie Jones, reviewed *50* 113-114; articles on, noticed *50* 128
NEW Jersey *48* 5; article on Upper Greenwich Meeting, noticed *46* 122; article on Mullica Hill, noticed *46* 122; article on Gov. Gawen Lawrie, noticed *47* 61; article on Haddonfield, noticed *47* 122; article on Rogerene settlements in, noticed *48* 140; research in progress on Delaware River valley, 1609-1701 *50* 53
NEW Quakers. *See* Nicholites
NEW York, meetings in *47* 101-103; history of Dutchess Co., noticed *47* 118; research in progress on Friends in Erie Co. *48* 64; research in progress on Friends in Niagara Co. *48* 64; Jacob Taylor as missionary to Seneca Indians *48* 116-127; study of Peter Stuyvesant and, noticed *49* 59; article on Friends in Jericho, L.I., noticed *50* 125
NEW York City, article on 15th St. Meeting library, noticed *49* 56; article on 20th St. Meeting, noticed *49* 127
NEW York Manumission Society, research in progress on *47* 49
NEW York Yearly Meeting *47* 101, 104
NEWBERG Meeting, Ore. *46* 106
NEW-LIGHT Quakers of Mass., article on, noticed *49* 59
NEWLIN, Algie I., reviews *Barrow Cadbury: A Memoir,* by Bartlett *50* 58
NEWLIN, Nathaniel, diary of trip to Indiana, 1819, noticed *50* 123
NEWLIN, Rodema *50* 105
NEWLIN, Thomas *49* 15
NEWMAN, Daisy, pageant on New England Quaker history, noticed *50* 127
NEWMARKET Meeting, Can. *47* 105, *49* 12
NEWPORT, Elisabeth *46* 41
NEWTOWN Meeting, Pa., history of, noticed *49* 61
NIAGARA Co., N.Y., research in progress on Friends in *48* 64
NIAGARA Falls *48* 41, 43
NICHOLAS, Henry, research in progress on *46* 47
NICHOLITES *48* 88-89; article on, noticed *46* 125; of N.C. *47* 10-11; of S.C. *47* 10*n;* and Friends *47* 12-19
"NICHOLITES Become Quakers," by Kenneth L. Carroll *47* 3-19
NICHOLS, Charles Henry *48* 29-30, 30*n*
NICHOLS, Joseph *47* 3-4
NICHOLS family, Vt. *50* 73
NICHOLSON, Joseph *50* 49, 50
NICHOLSON, Timothy *49* 33, 58, *50* 107
NICHOLSON family, Phila. *48* 59
NICKALLS, John, *Some Quaker Portraits, Certain and Uncertain,* reviewed *48* 66-67; article on Ethel Crawshaw Morland on Friends' Reference Library, noticed *50* 64; article on portrait of George Fox, noticed *50* 64
NICKALLS, Rayne, article on Robert Lovell, noticed *46* 63
NIGHTINGALE, Florence *46* 108
NINE Bridges, Md. *48* 84, 87
NITOBE, Dr. Inazo, article on, noticed *48* 143
NOBLE, John Henry *48* 100
NOBLE, Joshua *48* 96, 98, 99, 100
NOBLE, Mark Edward *48* 100
NOBLE, William Alfred *48* 100
NOLAN, Thomas B. *47* 37*n*
NONCONFORMIST liberalism in Eng., 1880-1906, research in progress on *48* 132
NORRIS, Isaac, II, dissertation on, noticed *47* 47; research in progress on *50* 53; article on, noticed *50* 128
NORRIS, Susanna *50* 80
NORTH Carolina *48* 5; research in progress on Friends in *46* 46; minutes of Perquimans Meeting, noticed *47* 56; history of Centre Meeting, noticed *47* 59; fictional account of Friends in, noticed *47* 119; bibliography of, noticed *48* 141; articles on Friends in,

noticed *48* 142; article on Dunn's Creek Meeting, noticed *49* 126; history of Greensboro, noticed *49* 126
North Carolina Yearly Meeting *49* 13
North Street Meeting, N.Y. *47* 101
Northwest Fork Meeting, Md. *46* 125, *47* 18-19, *48* 83-102 passim
Norway *48* 23; and Denmark, articles on Quakerism in, noticed *46* 59
Norwich, Eng., econmic life of, in 19th century *49* 96-110; weaving industry in *49* 103-104, 106-107; relief work in *49* 105-109
"Notes and Documents" *46* 40-45, 99-114, *47* 30-48, *48* 128-130, *49* 36-46, 111-116, *50* 96-110.
Nuttall, Geoffrey F., study of Quakerism in Wales, noticed *46* 115; *The Welsh Saints 1640-1660,* reviewed *47* 53; article on Richard Farnworth, noticed *47* 64; *Christian Pacifism in History,* reviewed *47* 112-113

O

Oakwood Friends Seminary, N.Y. *47* 101
Oaths, Nicholites and *47* 5-6; loyalty, article on Friends and, noticed *47* 62
Oberg, Erik, study of William Penn as champion of freedom, noticed *49* 124
Oblong Meeting, N.Y. *47* 118
Odwell, Patricia D., research in progress on Quakerism in the 19th century *48* 64
Offley, Jane *47* 17*n*
Ogden, John M. *46* 41, 43
Ogden, Thomas L. *48* 123
Ogden Land Co., *48* 123-125
Ohio, article on Mount Pleasant Meetinghouse, noticed *46* 123; journal of trip from Pennsylvania to *47* 38-45; history of West Branch Quarterly meeting, noticed *47* 60; in 1850 *48* 43-45, 50-51; Center Meeting *48* 139; letters of George Valentine, noticed *49* 60; history of Chesterhill, noticed *50* 60-61
Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society, Guide to manuscript collections of, noticed *49* 57
Ohio Yearly Meeting *47* 97, *48* 56, *50* 107
Oklahoma, Indian agency at Ft. Sill *47* 80-93; article on Osage Indian agency, noticed *48* 142; article on Stella Friends Academy, noticed *49* 57
Oliver, Alexander *46* 21
Oliver, James *46* 21
Oliver, John *46* 21
Oliver, Samuel *46* 21
Olney School, Ohio *49* 26
Orchard Park Meeting, N.Y. *See* East Hamburg Meeting
Oregon, history of Quakerism in, noticed *49* 128
Orient *48* 16
Oriental Exclusion Act *48* 16
Orr, George P., article on the ship *Welcome,* noticed *48* 75
Orr, William *48* 51
Osborn, Charles *47* 117
Osborn, John *47* 117
Osborn, Isaiah, letter of, noticed *47* 117
Ostrander, James *47* 101
Otis, D. E. *47* 78
Otis, George *47* 78, 78*n*
Otis, Joseph *47* 78*n*
Otis family, Vt., *50* 73
Owen, Ephraim *46* 21
Owen, James *50* 105, 106, 108
Owen, R. D., article on Howard family, noticed *49* 124
Oxley, John Brewster *48* 42
Oyongogoss, Seneca female chief *48* 121
Ozbun, Elwood *50* 105

P

Pace, Silas *46* 21
Pacific Coast Association of Friends *49* 17-18
Pacific Yearly Meeting *49* 18-19, *50* 103
Pacifism, research in progress on critiques of *46* 115; of Nicholites *47* 5; Quaker, research in progress on *48* 63, *49* 48, after World War I *46* 84-98, dissertation on, noticed *47* 48, and George Washington *49* 69-78, in Kansas *50* 97, 100, article on, noticed *50* 128
Painter, Levinus K., research in progress on Friends in Erie Co., N. Y. *48* 64; "Jacob Taylor, Quaker Missionary Statesman" *48* 116-127
Pallett, Harry, article on Come-to-Good Meeting, noticed *50* 62
Palmer, Alexander Mitchell *49* 47; research in progress on *46* 47; article on, noticed *48* 139
Palmer family, Vt. *50* 73
Palo Alto Meeting, Cal. *49* 17
Pancoast, Henry Khunrath *49* 47
Pannell, Anne Gary, dissertation on

English and American Friends, 1750-1785, noticed *47* 47
PARISH, Jasper *48* 118
PARKE, Judge Benjamin *49* 24
PARKER, Gen. E. S. *47* 83
PARKER, Robert Allerton, *The Transatlantic Smiths,* noticed *49* 56
PARRIS family, Vt. *50* 73
PARRISH, Dillwyn *46* 44, 70
PARRISH, Edward *46* 70, 71, 72
PARRISH, Susanna M. *46* 43
PARRY, Harry *47* 100*n*, 105
PARRY, Isaac *50* 9, 10
PARSONS, Edward *48* 39
PARSONS, Eliza Cock *48* 39*n*
PARSONS, James *48* 39, 39*n*
PARSONS, Dr. James *47* 35
PARSONS, Mary *48* 39
PARSONS, Samuel B. *48* 39, 39*n*, 40
PARSONS, Susan, *48* 39, 40
PARSONS, William T., dissertation on Isaac Norris II, noticed *47* 47, *50* 53
PARVEY, Dial *46* 21
PASTORAL system in Quakerism, article on, noticed *50* 128
PASTORIUS, Francis Daniel, dissertation on, noticed *47* 48
Patterns of Influence in Anglo-American Quakerism, by Thomas E. Drake, reviewed *48* 66
PATTERSON, Carl *50* 61
PATTERSON, Edith *50* 61
PATTERSON, Malinda. *See* Elkinton, Malinda Patterson
PATTERSON, Mary Sullivan, article on Biddle family, noticed *46* 62; article on John Barnes, noticed *49* 125; article on Caleb Pusey House, noticed *50* 128
PATTERSON, Rachel *47* 44
PATTERSON, Tilman *47* 43
PAXSON family, Pa. *46* 124
Paxton Papers, ed. by John R. Dunbar, noticed *48* 75
Payne, William *46* 11
PEACE, Friends and, after World War I *46* 84-98
PEACE Association, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Arch St.) *49* 11
PEACE of Nimeguen *48* 4
PEACE Society, Eng. *48* 10
PEACE testimony of Friends *48* 3-20
"PEACEABLE Kingdom," painting by Edward Hicks, reproduced *50* No. 1, frontis.
PEARCE, John N., research in progress on Baltimore potters *48* 132
PEARE, Catherine Owens, *William Penn: A Biography,* reviewed *46* 51-53; reviews *Hannah Penn and the Proprietorship of Pennsylvania,* by Drinker *48* 67-68; *William Penn* (for young readers), noticed *48* 138
PEARSON, Anthony, research in progress on *46* 47; article on, noticed *47* 123
PEARSON, Calvin W., visits John Bright *49* 43
PEARSON, Hannah *50* 106
PEARSON family, Pa. *46* 124
PEASE, Joseph *48* 10
PEASE, Zephaniah W., article on Paul Cuffee, noticed *48* 80
PEASE family *47* 64, *49* 96
PEASLEE, Amos *47* 44, 45*n*
PEASLEY family, Can. *50* 74
PEASLEY family, Ia. *50* 104
PEDDRICH, Richard *48* 50
PEDDRICH, Susan *48* 50
PEEL, Robert *49* 108
PEELE, Josiah *49* 14
PEGG, William, article on, noticed *46* 62
PELHAM Meeting, Can. *47* 104
PELHAM Quarterly Meeting, Can. *47* 104
PEMBERTON, John *46* 64
PEMBERTON, Mary *49* 75
PENINGTON, Isaac *46* 37; dissertation on Christology of, noticed *47* 46; research in progress on *48* 63; article on, *50* 62; *A Word for the Common Weale,* article on, noticed *50* 64
PENINGTON, Sir Isaac *50* 64
PENINGTON, Mary, research in progress on *48* 63
PENN, Hannah, research in progress on portraits of *46* 47; articles on, noticed *46* 61, *49* 126; article on portrait of, noticed *47* 63; letters of, ed. by Drinker, reviewed *48* 67-68
PENN, John *47* 69, 70*n*, *50* 59
PENN, Richard *50* 59
PENN, Thomas, *50* 59
PENN, William *46* 64, 113, *47* 62, 63, 67, 73, *48* 4, 8, 75, *49* 36*n*, 61, 116, *50* 19, 22, 28, 47, 59, 62, 122, 128; concept of the church *46* 35-36; research in progress on portraits of *46* 47; biography of, by Catherine Owens Peare, reviewed *46* 51-53; articles on his religious tolerance, noticed *46* 56; articles on, noticed *46* 62, 124, 125, *48* 142, *49* 61; anthology of his writings, ed. by Tolles and Alderfer, reviewed *46* 120-121; on George Fox *47* 32; his vision of America *47* 33; research in progress on *47* 49, *49* 117; article on his Frame of Government,

noticed *47* 62-63; article on portrait of, noticed *47* 63; research in progress on early schools in Pa. and *48* 63; research in progress on the Holy Experiment *48* 64; letters of, 1675, noticed *48* 80; biographies of, for young people, noticed *48* 138; letter of Pennsylvania Swedes to, noticed *48* 138-139; article on trial of, noticed *48* 142; study of Samuel Pepys's description of, noticed *48* 142; his Charter of Property 1701, noticed *49* 124; study of, as champion of freedom, noticed *49* 124; his Charter of Privileges, 1701 *50* 128; article on friendship between James II and, noticed *49* 125; on charity 50 85; and the Socinians, article on, noticed *50* 122; and his descendants, article on, noticed *50* 126

PENN Charter School *49* 9

PENN family, list of papers of, noticed *47* 58-59; article on wives of, noticed *50* 59

PENN Hill Meeting, Pa. *49* 5

PENNOCK, Abraham *48* 29, 29*n*, 37

PENNSYLVANIA *48* 5; article on early cultural life of, noticed *46* 125; article on Friends in, noticed *47* 61; in 1850 *48* 57; research in progress on Friends in Adams Co. *48* 63; reseach in progress on Holy Experiment *48* 64; research in progress on religion and politics in *48* 64; letter to William Penn from Swedes of, noticed *48* 138-139; articles on, noticed *48* 142; research in progress on churches in Sullivan Co. *49* 49; article on Middletown Meeting (Bucks Co.), noticed *49* 61; history of Newtown Meeting, noticed *49* 61; Washington and Friends in *49* 72-80; Charter of Property, 1701, noticed *49* 124; research in progress on Delaware River valley, 1609-1701 *50* 53; research in progress on slave trade in *50* 54; article on Benjamin Franklin and Quaker Party of, noticed *50* 124

PENNSYLVANIA Abolition Society *46* 68, 73, 81, 83

PENNSYLVANIA Freedmen's Association *46* 72

PENNSYLVANIA Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, history of, noticed *49* 126

PENNSYLVANIA Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, article on, noticed *47* 119

PEPYS, Samuel, study of his description of William Penn, noticed *48* 142

PEPYS, William Haseldine, article on, noticed *47* 64

PERKINS, John *46* 21

PERKINS, Peter *46* 21

PERQUIMANS Meeting, N.C., minutes of, 1729-1736, noticed *47* 56

PETER I of Russia, article on Friends and, noticed *49* 63

PETERLOO Massacre *49* 104-105

PETERSEN, Katharina, article on Quakerism and social history, noticed *47* 64

PETTITT, Jane *48* 33

PETTITT, William *48* 33, 37

PHELPS, Elizabeth *50* 32

PHILADELPHIA, history of Race Street Meetinghouse, noticed *46* 60; dissertation on, 1775-1790, noticed *47* 46; study of Quaker arrivals at, 1682-1750, noticed *47* 56; colonial Quaker furniture makers in *47* 67-72; Francisco de Miranda visits Friends in *48* 128-130; research in progress on Quaker merchants in, 1765-1777 *48* 131; yellow fever in *49* 84, 85, 90-91; from 1793 to 1836 *49* 84-95; water works in, 1800 *49* 91; article on Howard family, noticed *49* 124

PHILADELPHIA Female Antislavery Society *46* 68

PHILADELPHIA Monthly Meeting *46* 5, *50* 94

PHILADELPHIA Yearly Meeting *50* 93; article on, in 1758, noticed *47* 122; article on records of, pertaining to Indians, noticed *48* 76; Indian Committee *48* 116, 118, 119, 120-121, 126, 127; on charity *50* 85, 92

PHILADELPHIA Yearly Meeting (Arch St.), Peace Committee *46* 92; Wilburite tendencies *49* 4, 6-11; social service committees and associations *49* 9-10, 11; Wilburite-Gurneyite conflict in *49* 19-20

PHILADELPHIA Yearly Meeting (Race St.) *46* 6; memorial for Abraham Lincoln *46* 43-45; Peace Committee *46* 93

PHILANTHROPY, American, research in progress on *46* 46

PHILIPPINES *48* 16

PHILIPS, John, journal of visit to Indians, noticed *47* 57

PHILLIPS, Catharine, article on, noticed *46* 127

PHILLY, John, article on, noticed *46* 62

PHIPPS, Edward Hicks *50* 25

PICKARD, Elizabeth Whittier *50* 44

PICKARD, John B., article on Whittier's ballads, noticed *49* 126

PICKARD, Samuel T. *50* 38; *Whittier-Land*, noticed *47* 60
PICKERING, Timothy *48* 118-119, 124
PICKERING College, Can. *49* 112
PICKVANCE, Joseph, article on spiritual healing, noticed *46* 127
PIERCE, Caspar *50* 100
PILGRIMS, article on Friends and, noticed *47* 62
PIM, Frederick *47* 27
PIM, Jonathan *47* 20, 21, 28, 123
PIM, Thomas *47* 20
PINDAR. *See* Pinder
PINDER, Bridget *50* 47*n*
PINDER, Richard *46* 63
PINE Grove Meeting, Md. *See* Northwest Fork Meeting
PINKHAM, Mary B. *50* 108
PINKHAM family, Ia. *50* 104
PITMAN, Harriet *50* 36, 43
PLACE, Francis, research in progress on his portraits of William and Hannah Penn *46* 47, article on, noticed *47* 63
PLAIN language, articles on, noticed *46* 126, *48* 143; research in progress on *50* 52; article on second personal pronoun in *Moby Dick*, noticed *50* 127
PLAINFIELD Reform School for boys, Ind. *49* 33, 34
PLAINNESS, Nicholite emphasis on *47* 9
PLEASANTS, Mary *49* 75
PLYMOUTH Meeting, Eng., research in progress on *50* 53
POINT Four program *48* 17
POLITICS, studies of Friends and, noticed *46* 60, 61; dissertation on Friends and, 1652-1660, noticed *47* 46
POLK, James K., pres. U.S. *46* 99, 99*n*
POMFRET, John, articles on Gov. Gawen Lawrie of N.J., noticed *47* 61
POOL, Henry *48* 100
POOL, Henry M. *48* 100
POOL, Isaac *48* 100
POOL, John *48* 91, 96, 98, 101
POOLE, William, article on, noticed *47* 121
POPE *48* 4
POPLAR Ridge Meeting, N.Y. *47* 101
PORTEOUS, John F. *48* 41
PORTER, Marjorie L., article on Catherine R. Keese, noticed *49* 125
PORTUGAL *48* 23
POTTER, William J. *49* 59
POTTERS of Baltimore, research in progress on *48* 132
POWELL, Joseph *46* 71
POWELL, Thomas *48* 48, 49, 50
POWELL, Vavasor, study of, noticed *46* 115
POWNALL family *46* 124
Practical Discourse Concerning Death, John Woolman's reading of *48* 115
PRAIRIE Grove Meeting of Progressive Friends, Ia. *46* 41*n*
PRAY, Enos *50* 105, 106
PREACHING, Quaker *49* 6
PRESTON Meeting, Md. *See* Marshy Creek Meeting
PRICE, Richard, letter to Edward Hicks *50* 6-7
"PRIMITIVE Painter as Poet," by Frederick B. Tolles *50* 12-30
PRINCE, W.N., note on John Bartram, noticed *46* 122
PRIOR, Mary Barbot, edits letters of Martha Logan to John Bartram, noticed *49* 58
PRITCHARD, Calvin *47* 97
PRIVY Council, John Furly before, 1663 *49* 36-42
PROCTOR, William *48* 36
PROGRESSIVE Friends, of Iowa *46* 40-41, 41*n*, of Indiana and Ohio *46* 99; dissertation on, noticed *47* 48; article on Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of, noticed *47* 119
PROUD, Robert, on charity *50* 85
PSYCHIATRY, article on Friends and, noticed *48* 144
PUBLIC policy, Friends and *48* 8-20
"PUBLICATION of Edward Hicks's *Memoirs*," by Alice Ford *50* 4-11
PUMPHREY, Stanley *50* 105
PURDY, Alexander *47* 102
PURDY, Alexander C., reviews *The Standard of the Lord Lifted Up*, by Jones *50* 112-113
PURDY, Ellison R. *47* 102
PURINTON, Charles *50* 80
PURINTON family, Can. *50* 75
PURINTON family, Vt. *50* 73
PUSEY, Caleb, article on house of, noticed *50* 128
PUSEY, William Allen *49* 47
PUTNAM, Israel *49* 76
PYRMONT, Germany, article on Friends at, noticed *48* 144

Q

"QUAKER," article on early use of the word, noticed *50* 63
QUAKER architecture in Nantucket, study of, noticed *50* 60
Quaker Arrivals at Philadelphia, 1682-

1750, by Myers, noticed *47* 56
QUAKER attitude toward business *47* 73-74, 74*n*
"QUAKER before the Privy Council, 1663," by Henry J. Cadbury *49* 36-42
Quaker Boy Growing Up, by Charles Allen Rose, noticed *50* 121
QUAKER burial ground in Glasgow, article on, noticed *47* 56
QUAKER business firms, Eng., article on, noticed *48* 144
QUAKER centers *48* 15
"QUAKER 'Charity' before the American Revolution," by Sydney V. James *50* 82-95
QUAKER colleges, dissertation on, noticed *47* 47
QUAKER concept of the church, dissertation on, noticed *47* 47
QUAKER discipline, research in progress on *49* 48
QUAKER education, article on, noticed *48* 78; in Illinois, research in progress on *50* 53
QUAKER esthetic, articles on, noticed *48* 79, *49* 124
QUAKER exiles to Virginia *49* 73
QUAKER families of Great Britain, study of, noticed *47* 120
QUAKER folklore, research in progress on *48* 132, article on, noticed *49* 60
QUAKER furniture makers in colonial Philadelphia *47* 67-72
QUAKER history, by van Etten, reviewed *49* 54-55; doctoral dissertations on, list of *47* 45-48
Quaker Homespun: The Life of Thomas Fox of Wellington, by Hubert Fox, reviewed *47* 110-111
QUAKER influence on Mennonites, study of, noticed *46* 58
QUAKER libraries, report from *46* 116-117
QUAKER meeting records, guide to location of, noticed *50* 125
QUAKER merchants in Philadelphia, 1765-1777, research in progress on *48* 131
QUAKER midwives in Barbados, article on, *48* 76
QUAKER morality, article on, noticed *46* 122, *48* 140
Quaker Organization and Business Meetings, by L. Hugh Doncaster, reviewed *47* 111
QUAKER pacifism, research in progress on *49* 48; after World War I *46* 84-98; dissertation on, noticed *47* 48
QUAKER Party, 1755-1756, article on Franklin and, noticed *50* 124
Quaker Persuasion, by William Wistar comfort, reviewed *46* 120
Quaker Pioneer: Laura Haviland, Superintendent of the Underground, by Mildred E. Danforth, reviewed *50* 116-117
QUAKER preaching *49* 6
QUAKER prose style of the 17th-century, article on, noticed *46* 61
QUAKER records, article on, noticed *46* 126
QUAKER relief in the Balkans after 1918, article on, noticed *49* 57; in Boston, 1776 *49* 71-72
"QUAKER Research in Progress" *46* 46-47, 115, *47* 49, *48* 63-64, 131-132, *49* 48-49, 117, *50* 52-54
"QUAKER Road" in Georgia *46* 14-15
QUAKER social history, research in progress on *48* 131-132
QUAKER Springs, Ga. *46* 15, 17
QUAKER theology, research in progress on *46* 46; article on, noticed *47* 63
Quaker Ways in Foreign Policy, by Robert O. Byrd, reviewed *49* 119-120
QUAKER wills, Dublin, abstracts of, noticed *47* 60
QUAKERISM, in Theodore Dreiser's *The Bulwark* *46* 29-33; in Denmark and Norway, articles on, noticed *46* 59; article on, noticed *46* 61; early, article on, noticed *46* 62, research in progress on *50* 52, dissertation on, noticed *47* 46, article on Christology of, noticed *47* 62; modern, research in progress on *46* 115, article on authority and experience in, noticed *50* 64; in Wales, study of, noticed *46* 115, research in progress on *49* 117; missionary outreach of *47* 34; in American historical and literary writing, dissertation on, noticed *47* 47; and social history, article on, noticed *47* 64; in Ireland, article on, noticed *47* 122-123; in 19th century, research in progress on *48* 64; in 19th-century American satire on religion, noticed *50* 123; research in progress on anti-Quakerism of the 17th century *48* 131; F. D. Maurice on *49* 96-97; and wealth *49* 96-98; in Oregon, history of, noticed *49* 128; and doctrine of Holy Spirit, article on, noticed *49* 128; article on Christ in, noticed *49* 128; John Greenleaf Whittier on *50* 35-36; liberal, research in progress on *50* 52; research in progress on concept of church and state in *50* 53; research in progress on evangelicalism in *50* 54;

in Sweden, article on, noticed *50* 59; in Finland, article on, noticed *50* 59; study of Robert Southey and, noticed *50* 60; in 18th-century America *50* 82-95; original sin in *50* 89-91; and World Council of Churches, article on, noticed *50* 121; in Canada, history of, noticed *50* 123
Quakerism and Early Christianity, by Henry J. Cadbury, reviewed *46* 119
"Quakerism and Foreign Policy: The Development of a Relationship," by Robert O. Byrd *48* 3-20
Quakerism and Politics, by Frederick B. Tolles, noticed *46* 60
"Quakerism in Caroline County, Maryland: Its Rise and Decline," by Kenneth L. Carroll *48* 83-102
Quakerism in Fiction and Poetry Written by Women, by Dorothy Gilbert Thorne, noticed *49* 57
Quakers: A New Look at their Place in Society, by John Sykes, reviewed *49* 51-52
Quakers and the Atlantic Culture, by Frederick B. Tolles, reviewed *49* 120-121
"Quakers in 'Bleeding Kansas'," by Cecil Currey *50* 96-101
Quane, Michael, article on Mountmellick School, Ireland, noticed *50* 125
Queen Anne's Meeting, Md. *48* 84, 85, 86, 87. *See also* Greensboro Meeting, Md.
Quietism of John Woolman *48* 111, 111*n*

R

Race Street, Phila. *46* 5; origin of name *46* 6
"Race Street Meeting House, 1856-1956," by Richmond P. Miller *46* 3-9; history of, noticed *46* 60
Rachlis, Eugene, study of Peter Stuyvesant and New York, noticed *49* 59
Radley, Samuel *48* 48, 49
Raistrick, Arthur, article on Darby family, noticed *49* 63
Ralton, Mrs. James L., article on John Woolman, noticed *49* 126
Randall family, Vt. *50* 73
Randolph, Benjamin *47* 69
Rasin, Ann *47* 17*n*
Raub, Nellie Taylor, *A History of Farmers Institute Monthly Meeting,* noticed *47* 118
Raunce, John *48* 80
Rawlinson Collection, Oxford, research in progress on *48* 64
Rawson, Wyatt, *Kees Boeke,* noticed *46* 61
Ray, John *48* 42-43
Reaman, G. Elmore, *The Trail of the Black Walnut,* reviewed *49* 53-54
Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision, ed. by Guy F. Hershberger, reviewed *47* 116
Red Jacket, Seneca chief *48* 122-123
Reed, Joseph, biographical sketch of Nathanael Greene, noticed *49* 62
Reede, Arthur H., article on Whittier in Pennsylvania, noticed *48* 139
Reese, Hulda *47* 97
Reese, Seth *47* 97
Refugees, research in progress on Friends and *46* 46
Regester, John *47* 13
Reich, John. *See* Rich, John
Reichard, Gladys Armanda, article on, noticed *46* 124
Relief work *48* 7, 12
Religion and politics in colonial Pennsylvania, research in progress on *48* 64
Reninger, Marion Wallace, article on Susanna Wright, noticed *49* 62
"Reputation of a Quaker Businessman," by Robert Davison *47* 73-79
Retreat, York *48* 22
"Revival Movement in Iowa," ed. by Howard H. Brinton *50* 102-110
Revivalism of Friends *50* 106-110
Revolution, American, dissertation on Friends in, noticed *47* 47; diary of Sarah Fisher, 1776-1778, noticed *48* 78; research in progress on Friends and *50* 52
Revolution, English, article on Friends and, noticed *46* 61
Reynolds, John, Governor of Georgia *46* 12
Rhoads, Anne *48* 31
Rhoads, Samuel *48* 29, 29*n*, 30, 36
Rhode Island *48* 5; Francisco de Miranda visits Friends in Newport *48* 130
Rich, John *46* 28
Rich, Robert *48* 80
Richards, John *50* 6*n*, 7
Richardson, Hannah White *48* 21, 31*n*, 38
Richardson, John *47* 4
Richardson, Nathaniel *46* 43
Richardson, Richard *48* 30, 31*n*
Richardson, William *48* 39
Richardson family *48* 144
Richmond, Ind., Friends Boarding School *49* 26

RICKMAN, Lydia L., article on Esther Biddle, noticed *46* 63-64
RICKMAN, Thomas Clio *50* 29*n*
RIDDLEBERGER, Patrick W., article on George Washington Julian, noticed *47* 117
RIDGWAY, Henry W. *46* 43, 73
RIDGWAY, Joseph, Jr. *48* 53
RIGG, Kaber, plot of *49* 39
RIGGE, Ambrose *47* 73, 75
RIGGS, John Beverley, research in progress on Elizabeth Webb *48* 64
RILEY, Lyman W., "Articles in Quaker Periodicals" *46* 62-64, 127, *47* 62-64, 122-123, *48* 79-80, 143-144, *49* 63, 127-128, *50* 62-64, 128; reviews *The Quaker Persuasion,* by Comfort *46* 120; reviews *Christian Pacifism in History,* by Nuttall *47* 112-113; reviews *Between God and History,* by Ullmann, and *The Quakers,* by Sykes *49* 51-52; guide to location of American meeting records, noticed *50* 125
RITTENHOUSE, Naomi *46* 43
ROBERTS, Arthur Owen, article on Friends, noticed *46* 59; dissertation on George Fox, noticed *47* 47; *Through Flaming Sword: A Spiritual Biography of George Fox,* reviewed *49* 54-55; article on beliefs of George Fox, noticed *50* 128
ROBERTS, Louisa T. *46* 72
ROBERTS, Spencer *46* 71
ROBERTS family, Ia. *50* 104
ROBERTSON, Thomas *46* 63, *50* 64
ROBINS, Benjamin, article on, noticed *47* 118
ROBINSON, Catherine. *See* Keese, Catherine
ROBINSON, David *46* 21
ROBINSON, Richard *47* 32
ROBISON, Israel *46* 21
ROCKEFELLER, Nelson A. *46* 24
RODABAUGH, James H., article on Mount Pleasant Meetinghouse, Ohio, noticed *46* 123
ROGERENES, article on, noticed *48* 140
ROGERS, Cleveland, study of Lady Deborah Moody, noticed *46* 125
ROGERS, William, concept of church *46* 36-38; and Robert Barclay, compared *46* 39
ROGERS family, Vt. *50* 73
ROOSEVELT, Franklin D. *46* 25, 26
ROOT, Robert C. *46* 86
ROPER, Richard *50* 49, 50
ROSE, H. Wickliffe, research in progress on American houses of worship *50* 53
ROSS, Isabel, article on William Wordsworth, noticed *46* 126; article on Thomas Fell, noticed *48* 77; article on William Bennett, noticed *48* 80
ROSSITER-SMITH, H., article on Mary Fisher (d. 1854), noticed *50* 63
ROTCH, Thomas *49* 93, 93*n*
ROTCH, William *47* 78, 79
ROTCH, William, Jr. *47* 77
ROTHERMUND, Dietmar, research in progress on religion and politics in colonial Pennsylvania *48* 64
ROUNTREE, Henry *50* 104
ROUS, John *48* 80
ROUTH, Martha *47* 13, 15
ROWE, Charles Allen, *A Quaker Boy Growing Up,* noticed *50* 121
ROWLAND, Isaiah *47* 17*n*
ROWLAND, Ruth *47* 17*n*
ROWNTREE, John Wilhelm *50* 64; research in progress on *46* 115
ROWNTREE, Joseph, biography of, by Vernon, reviewed *48* 136-137
ROWNTREE, Joshua *48* 12
ROWNTREE. *See also* Rountree
RUBINCAM, Milton, article on wives of proprietors of Pennsylvania, noticed *50* 59
RUDYARD, Thomas, article on, noticed *46* 122-123
RUSH, Isaac *46* 63
RUSSELL, Alys *49* 56
RUSSELL, Elbert *46* 87, *49* 4
RUSSELL, Henry G., reviews *Quakerism and Early Christianity,* by Cadbury *46* 119
RUSSIA *48* 4, 12; article on Friends and Peter I, noticed *49* 63; research in progress on Friends and *50* 53
RYON, Fred Lewis *47* 100*n* 102*n;* research in progress on William Allen *46* 47; "William Allen, Negro Evangelist of the Society of Friends" *47* 94-105
RYON, Olive *47* 105

S

SADSBURY Meeting, Pa. *48* 116
SALEM Seminary, Ind. *49* 24-25
SALL. *See* Sell
SALTHOUSE, Thomas *48* 80, *50* 50; article on trial of, noticed *50* 128
SAMSON, Samuel *46* 21
SAN Martin, José de *50* 19
SANDERS, Thomas G., research in progress on relation of church and state *50* 53

SANDFORD, Samuel, article on, noticed *47* 58
SANDILANDS, Robert *46* 63
SANDS, David *48* 30, 30*n*, 61
SANDS, Nathaniel *48* 61
SANDUSKY Conference, 1793 *49* 80
SANTA Anna, Antonio Lopez de *50* 18, 18*n*
SANVILLE, Florence L., article on Little Thakeham Meeting, noticed *47* 63
SASSAFRAS Street, Philadelphia. *See* Race Street
SATANTA, Kiowa chief *47* 86, 87
SATTERTHWAITE, Linton *46* 91
SATTERTHWAITE, Rachel B. *48* 99
SATTERTHWAITE, Sarah *50* 105
SAUNDERS, McPherson *46* 69
SAVERY, William *47* 68-69, 69*n*, 70, 72, *48* 117
SAVOURY family, of Pentonville, Eng. *48* 79
SAWYER, William Edwin, research in progress on Delaware River valley, 17th century *50* 53
SAYERS, R. S., *Lloyds Bank in the History of English Banking*, noticed *48* 137-138
SCATTERGOOD, George *47* 40, 41, *49* 9
SCATTERGOOD, Henry *49* 9, 15
SCATTERGOOD, William *49* 5
SCHAFFER, Mary, article on, noticed *49* 56
SCHERMERHORN, A. M. *48* 31
SCHEURWEGHS, G., article on William Sewell, noticed *50* 124
SCHLEGEL, Richard, research in progress on Separation of 1827 *49* 49
SCHMIDT, Karl Patterson, memoir of Warder Clyde Allee, noticed *47* 59
SCHOFIELD, Martha *46* 73
SCHOFIELD School, S. C. *46* 83
SCHOOLS. *See* Education
SCHUTZ, J. Evelynn, article on Nebraska Central College, noticed *48* 79
SCIENCE in Philadelphia, 1775-1790, dissertation on, noticed *47* 46
SCIPIO Quarterly Meeting, N. Y. *47* 101, 102
SCOTT, Anne F., reviews *Susan B. Anthony*, by Lutz *48* 134-135
SCOTT, Job *47* 7-8
SCOTT, John (of Amwell) *50* 12; biography of, by Stewart, reviewed *46* 54-55
SCOTT, Richenda C., research in progress on modern Quakerism *46* 115; research in progress on Friends and Russia *50* 53; article on authority and experience in modern Quakerism, noticed *50* 64
SCOTT, Solomon *48* 86*n*
SCULL, Edward *50* 107
SEARLE, A. B., article on William Haseldine Pepys, noticed *47* 64
SEEBOHM, Benjamin *48* 56, 56*n*, *49* 7
SEEBOHM, Ludwig *48* 144
SEHGAL, Ellen B., research in progress on A. Mitchell Palmer *46* 47
SELL, Henry *46* 21
SELL, Jonathan *46* 13, 16-17, 20, 21
SELLECK, A. D., research in progress on Plymouth and West Devon Meetings, Eng. *50* 53; article on trial of Thomas Salthouse and Miles Halhead, noticed *50* 128
SELLECK, George A., article on Mary Dyer, noticed *49* 63; article on tercentenary of New England Yearly Meeting, noticed *50* 128
SELLERS, Richard *48* 5
SEPARATION of 1827-28, *46* 115, *49* 22-23; research in progress on *49* 49
SEPARATIONS in Iowa *50* 109
SERGISON, Patrick *46* 21
SERVETUS, Michael *50* 22, 27
SETTLE, Frances, will of, noticed *48* 77
SETTLE, Richard, will of, noticed *48* 77
SEWARD, Senator William H. *48* 35
SEWEL, Willem, *History of the Quakers*, article on Philadelphia printing of, noticed *46* 126; as linguist, article on, noticed *50* 124
SEWELL, Anna, article on, noticed *46* 123
SEWELL, Joseph *50* 106
SHACKLETON, Abraham *47* 62, *49* 60
SHACKLETON, Richard, letters of Edmund Burke to, noticed *49* 60
SHAKERS, Friends confused with *46* 111, 112, 114
SHARON Temple and Children of Peace, article on, noticed *48* 139
SHARP, Anthony *47* 64
SHARP, Isaac *50* 103, 106, 109
SHARPLES, Philip *49* 6
SHARPLESS, Isaac *46* 4, *49* 9, 15
SHARPLESS, Joshua *48* 118
SHAW, Sir John *49* 36, 39
SHAWNEE Mission Indian School, Kan. *50* 99
SHEPARD, Lee, edits letters of Samuel Linton, noticed *48* 139
SHEPPARD, A. H. *48* 31
SHEPPARD, Walter L., article on Fenimore family, noticed *47* 58
SHERLOCK, William, John Woolman's reading of *48* 106
SHERMAN, William T. *47* 82
SHERRARD, O. A., *Freedom from Fear: The Slave and His Emancipation*, reviewed *50* 116-117

SHERRER, Grace B., article on Francis Mercurius van Helmont and Friends, noticed *47* 123
SHERWOOD, Isaac *46* 57
SHIDELER, Emerson W., "The Concept of the Church in Seventeenth-Century Quakerism," Pt. II *46* 35-39; dissertation on Quaker concept of the Church, noticed *47* 47
SHILLITOE, Thomas *46* 59, *50* 128
SHIPLEY, Ann *48* 52
SHIPLEY, Anna *50* 105
SHIPLEY, Hannah E. *See* Bean, Hannah E.
SHIPLEY, Morris *48* 51
SHIPLEY, Murray *50* 105
SHIPLEY, Samuel R. *50* 102
SHIPLEY, Thomas *50* 102
SHIRELY Meeting, N. Y. *48* 122
"SHIVAREE" *47* 43
SHOEMAKER, Abigail *48* 59
SHOEMAKER, Alfred L., article on meetinghouse stables and sheds, noticed *50* 59
SHOEMAKER, Franklin *46* 41
SHORTLEDGE, Hannah *46* 76
SHOTWELL, Anna H. *48* 30, 30*n*, 42
SHREVE, Helen *48* 100
SHUFELT, Harry B., research in progress on Nicholas Austin and Bolton, Can. *48* 64
SICK, Adona R., research in progress on churches of Sullivan Co., Pa. *49* 49
SIDEWELL, John *46* 21
SIDWELL. See Sidewell
SIGOURNEY, Lydia *50* 34
SILLIMAN, Benjamin *47* 38
SIMEON, Charles, and J. J. Gurney, article on, noticed *50* 124
SIMKIN, Samuel *47* 101
SIMONSON, William. *See* Simpson, William
SIMPSON, Margaret H., article on Bristol Meeting, noticed *46* 63
SIMPSON, William *50* 49
SIN, original, in Quakerism *50* 89-91
SINGLETON, William, article on, noticed *48* 144
SINNOTT, Edmund W., research in progress on New England meetinghouses *50* 53
SKANEATELES Meeting, N. Y. *47* 101
SLATER, John *46* 21
SLATER, Mary *46* 21
SLAVE trade, research in progress on abolition of *48* 64, 132; in Pennsylvania, research in progress on abolition of *50* 54
SLAVERY 47 95; article on antislavery in Michigan, noticed *46* 56; an Irish Friend on *47* 20-29; research in progress on New York Manumission Society *47* 49; article on New England Antislavery Society, noticed *47* 57; article on Germantown Antislavery Petition of 1688, noticed *48* 140; research in progress on British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society *49* 49; article on abolitionists, noticed *49* 62; George Washington and *49* 68, 78-79; history of Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery, noticed *49* 126; among Friends *50* 87; Friends and, in Maryland *48* 93-94; in Kansas *50* 96-101
SMILEY, Albert *50* 104
SMILEY, Alfred *50* 104
SMILEY, Sara F. *50* 105
SMITH, Alice E., edits *Journals of Welcome Arnold Greene*, noticed *47* 59
SMITH, Alys. *See* Russell, Alys
SMITH, Augustus *48* 127
SMITH, Deborah *46* 76
SMITH, Dwight L., edits letters of George Valentine, of Ohio, noticed *49* 60
SMITH, E. D. *47* 87
SMITH, Elizabeth. *See* Haworth, Elizabeth Smith
SMITH, H. Rossiter, research in progress on Thomas Wilkinson *46* 115
SMITH, Hannah Whitall *49* 56, *50* 105
SMITH, Humphrey *48* 111*n;* John Woolman's reading of *48* 113
SMITH, Humphrey H. H. C., genealogical work by, noticed *50* 126
SMITH, John, 17th century *46* 63
SMITH, John, of Georgia *46* 21
SMITH, Logan Pearsall *49* 56
SMITH, Mary *49* 56
SMITH, Mary Emerson *50* 34
SMITH, Reginald Arthur, research in progress on Carl Heath *46* 115
SMITH, Richard *46* 21
SMITH, Sam S., research in progress on Lewis Morris *49* 117
SMITH, Samuel Hanbury *48* 53
SMITH, Susan *48* 38
SMITH family, Dartmouth, Mass., article on, noticed *50* 126
SMITH family, N. J., study of, noticed *49* 56
SMITH family, Vt. *50* 73
SMYTH, Herbert Weir *49* 47
SNELL, Beatrice Saxon, edits letter of Benjamin Cole, noticed *48* 79
SNOW Hill, Md. *48* 97
SNYDER, Edward D., "Whittier and the Unitarians" *49* 111-116

SNYDERMAN, George S., edits Halliday Jackson's journal, noticed *47* 57; edits John Philips' journal, noticed *47* 57; article on Philadelphia Yearly Meeting records on Indians, noticed *48* 76
SOCIAL history, article on Quakerism and, noticed *47* 64; Quaker, research in progress on *48* 131-132
SOCIAL order, history of Friends and, noticed *48* 78
SOCIAL Order Committee, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Arch St.) *49* 11
SOCIAL service committees and associations of Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Arch St.) *49* 9-10, 11
SOCINIANS, article on William Penn and, noticed *50* 122
SOJOURNER Truth, article on, noticed *46* 123
"SOME Quaker Furniture Makers in Colonial Philadelphia," by Marguerite Hallowell *47* 67-72
Some Quaker Portraits, Certain and Uncertain, by John Nickalls *48* 66-67
SOMERVELL, R. Ursula, research in progress on Betty Fothergill *46* 47; article on Rachel Wilson, noticed *46* 63
SONGHURST, John *46* 5
SONGHURST Street, Phila. *See* Race Street
SONMANS, Aarent *47* 30
SOULÉ, Pierre *48* 32
SOUTH Carolina, Laing School, Mt. Pleasant *46* 79
SOUTH Street Meeting, N. Y. *47* 101
SOUTHERN Quarterly Meeting, Md. *47* 18, *48* 91
SOUTHEY, Robert, and Quakerism, study of, noticed *50* 60
SOUTHWICK family, Vt. *50* 73
SOWLE family, research in progress on *48* 131
SPAIN, relief in *46* 23-29
SPARHAWK, Francis Campbell *50* 41
SPENCE, Hartzell, article on Friends, noticed *49* 125
SPENCER, Thomas *48* 42
SPICELAND Meetinghouse, Eng., article on, noticed *49* 61-62
SPILLER, Robert E., edits early lectures of Emerson, noticed *49* 61; reviews *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture,* by Tolles *49* 120-121
SPIRITUAL healing by George Fox, article on, noticed *46* 127
SPIRITUALISM of 17th century, dissertation on, noticed *47* 47
SPOONER, Hilary, article on Sharon Temple and Children of Peace, noticed *48* 139
SPRINGDALE Meeting, Ia. *50* 104
SPRINGDALE Quarterly Meeting, Ia. *50* 104, 108
SPRINGFIELD Meeting, Ohio, history of, noticed *49* 58
SQUIBB, Edward Robinson, article on, noticed *49* 63
SQUIRES, Samuel *48* 40
STABLER, Edward, letter of, noticed *47* 63
STACY, Thomas *47* 123
STAFFORD, Jarvis *47* 10*n*
STAGG, Richard E., research in progress on advices and queries of London Yearly Meeting *48* 64
STALKER, Sallie *50* 39
STALLINGS, Olive Rogerson, article on Friends in N. C., noticed *48* 142
STAMPS commemorating Friends, article on, noticed *46* 62
Standard of the Lord Lifted Up, by Mary Hoxie Jones, reviewed *50* 112-113
STANDLEY, Joseph *47* 10
STANLEY, Abraham *48* 57, 57*n*
STANLEY, Arthur Penrhyn *46* 109, 109*n*, 110
STANLEY, Edward *49* 108
STANLEY, Joshua *48* 35, 35*n*
STANTON, Anna M. *46* 81
STANTON, Edwin M. *47* 121
STANTON, Elizabeth Cady, article on, noticed *49* 58
STANTON, Thomas *47* 4
STAPLES family, Ia. *50* 104
STARKBORO, Vt. *50* 73
STARKMAN, Miriam K., article on a 19th-century American satire on religion, noticed *50* 123
STEARNS, Lutie Eugenia, autobiography of, noticed *50* 61
STEELE, Laurence *46* 63
STEER, Sarah *46* 74
STEERE, Douglas *49* 128
STELLA Friends Academy, Okla., article on, noticed *49* 57
STENDAHL, Greta, article on Quakerism in Sweden, noticed *50* 59
STEPHENS, Alexander Hamilton *48* 34, 34*n*
STEPHENS family, of Cornwall *50* 62
STERLING, Dorothy, research in progress on Lucretia Mott *50* 53-54
STEVENS, S. K., compiles *Bibliography of Pennsylvania History,* reviewed *47* 115-116
STEVENS, Sarah *50* 80
STEVENS family, Vt. *50* 73

STEVENS family, Can. *50* 75
STEWARDSON, Thomas *48* 118, 131
STEWART, John, Jr. *46* 21
STEWART, Lawrence D., *John Scott of Amwell*, reviewed *46* 54-55
STIBITZ, Edward Earle, dissertation on Quakerism in American historical and literary writing, noticed *47* 47
STIRREDGE, Elizabeth, John Woolman's reading of *48* 113
STOCKLEY, Harriet E. *46* 71, 72
STONE, Witmer *49* 47
STONE family, Vt. *50* 72
STORR, Marmaduke *47* 123
STORRS, William *46* 63
STORY, John *47* 123
STORY, Thomas, John Woolman's reading of *48* 113
Story of Quakerism, by Elfrida Vipont, 2nd ed., noticed *50* 60
STOTESBURY, Edward Townsend *49* 47
STOUDT, John Joseph, research in progress on American mysticism *48* 132
STOWE, Calvin *49* 25
STOWE, Harriet Beecher *49* 25
STREET, Louis *50* 106
STREET, Sarah *50* 106
STUBBS, Ann *46* 14*n*, 21
STUBBS, Avery, article on Quaker settlers in Minnesota, noticed *50* 124
STUBBS, Deborah *46* 21
STUBBS, John, 17th century *46* 63
STUBBS, John, of Georgia *46* 21
STUBBS, Joseph *46* 12, 14*n*
STUBBS, Nathaniel *46* 21
STURGE, H. J. *46* 109
STURGE, Joseph *49* 56; article on, noticed *48* 143
STURGE family *48* 144
STURGIS, Samuel Booth, article on William Penn's religious tolerance, noticed *46* 56
STUYVESANT, Peter, study of, noticed *49* 59
SUMNER, Charles *49* 44, 44*n;* article on, noticed *46* 125-126
SUTTON, Alice *46* 76
SWARTHMORE College *46* 81-82; and Biddle family, article on, noticed *46* 62; dissertation on, noticed *47* 46
SWARTHMORE Hall *50* 47
SWEDEN, article on Quakerism in, noticed *50* 59
SWEDES of Pennsylvania, letter to William Penn, noticed *48* 138-139
SWEENEY, John A., study of Corbit House, Odessa, Del., noticed *50* 123
SWEET, Charles *47* 100*n*
SWEM, E. G., *Brothers of the Spade*, noticed *47* 121
SWIFT, David E., research in progress on Joseph John Gurney *48* 132; "Joseph John Gurney and the Economic Life of Norwich" *49* 96-110; article on Joseph John Gurney in politics, noticed *50* 63-64; article on Charles Simeon and Joseph John Gurney, noticed *50* 124
SWIFT, John *48* 85
SWIFT, Richard *48* 85
SYKES, John, *The Quakers: A New Look at their Place in Society*, reviewed *49* 51-52

T

TABER family, Can. *50* 75, 81
TAKAHASHI, Shizuko, biography of, noticed *48* 138
TALBOT Co., Md., article on Friends in, noticed *48* 76-77
TALLACK, William, *Friendly Sketches in America*, article on, noticed *50* 62
TANNER, William, on slavery in America *47* 28, 29
TAPPAN, Arthur *48* 61*n*
TAPPAN, Lewis *48* 61, 61*n*
TARR, George *46* 11
TATUM, David *50* 104
TATUM, Hannah B. *50* 104
TATUM, Lawrie *47* 81-82
TATUM, Rebecca. *See* Hobbs, Rebecca
TAYLOR, Abraham M. *48* 51, 51*n*, 52
TAYLOR, Ann *48* 55
TAYLOR, Bayard *50* 38
TAYLOR, C. Marshall, articles on John Greenleaf Whittier, noticed *47* 62, 63
TAYLOR, Carrie *46* 74
TAYLOR, Daniel, article on, noticed *46* 126
TAYLOR, Edward *49* 43
TAYLOR, Ernest E., biography of, by Whiting, reviewed *47* 109-110
TAYLOR, Frances, *See* Settle, Frances
TAYLOR, George *50* 49
TAYLOR, George W. *48* 29*n*, 31, 31*n*
TAYLOR, Henry (d. 1821), article on, noticed *48* 80
TAYLOR, Henry (d. 1872) *50* 40
TAYLOR, Jacob, of Ohio *48* 52
TAYLOR, Jacob, of N. Y., article on *48* 116-127
TAYLOR, Jonathan *48* 55
TAYLOR, Joseph Wright *48* 51*n*, 52
TAYLOR, Mary *46* 74
TAYLOR, Philip *48* 127
TAYLOR, Rebecca. *See* Updegraff, Rebecca
TAYLOR, Robert, will of, noticed *48* 77

Taylor, Robert C., article on Henry Taylor (d. 1821), noticed *48* 80
Taylor, Zachary, pres. U. S. *48* 32, 36
Taylor Hollow Meeting, N. Y. *48* 122
Tebbetts, Albert *50* 104
Tebbetts, Mary *50* 104
Tebbetts family, Ia. *50* 104
Temperance Association, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Arch St.) *49* 11
Temperance Society, Farnham Meeting, Can. *50* 71
Temperance Street, Philadelphia. *See* Mole Street
Temperley, Howard Reed, research in progress on British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society *49* 49
Terre Haute Normal School, Ind. *49* 34
Thatcher, Edward P., "William Hobson, Quaker Diarist" *46* 106-110
Thaxter, Celia *50* 38, 41, 42, 43
Thayer, Theodore, *Nathanael Greene,* noticed *50* 125
Thayer, Mrs. William G., Jr. *50* 25
Theiss, Lewis Edwin, article on Friends in Pennsylvania, noticed *47* 61
Then and Now: Quaker Essays, ed. by Anna Brinton, reviewed *50* 56-57
Theology, early Quaker, research in progress on *46* 46, article on, noticed *47* 63
Third Haven Meeting, Md. *46* 125, *47* 4*n*, 13, 18, *48* 83
Thomas, Allen Clapp *48* 31*n*, *49* 4
Thomas, Caroline *46* 76
Thomas, Charles F. *49* 128
Thomas, Deborah Hinsdale *48* 30, 30*n*
Thomas, Dr. James D. *50* 105
Thomas, Keith, article on emancipation of women, noticed *48* 75
Thomas, Mary W. *50* 105
Thomas, Nathan *48* 50
Thomas, Pamela Brown *47* 121
Thomas, Phebe Clapp *48* 31*n*, 36
Thomas, Richard Henry (d. 1860) *48* 31, 31*n*, 36, 58
Thomas, Richard Henry (d. 1904) *48* 31*n*
Thomas, Robert M., article on, noticed *47* 121
Thomas, Roger, article on letters of William Penn (1675), noticed *48* 80
Thomas, Wilbur K. *49* 15
Thomas Indian School, N. Y. *48* 127
Thompson, John *46* 21
Thompson, Mack E., ed. Moses Brown's account of relief work, noticed *46* 123; dissertation on Moses Brown, noticed *47* 48; reviews *Let Freedom Ring! A Biography of Moses Brown,* by Hazelton *47* 54-55
Thompson, Olney *50* 104
Thompson, William B. *50* 104
Thompson family, Ia. *50* 104
Thomson, Charles *47* 71; article on, noticed *48* 141
Thornburg, Opal, article on Marcus Mote, noticed *47* 56; article on Ezra Baily, noticed *47* 117; "A View of John Bright in 1867" *49* 43-46; *Whitewater: Indiana's First Monthly Meeting of Friends, 1809-1959,* noticed *49* 58; article on William Tallack's *Friendly Sketches in America,* noticed *50* 62
Thorndike, Anna *50* 104
Thorndike, Henry *50* 104
Thorne, Chauncey B. *47* 101-102
Thorne, Dorothy Gilbert, edits minutes of Perquimans Meeting, N. C., noticed *47* 56; *Quakerism in Fiction and Poetry Written by Women,* noticed *49* 57
Thorne, Phebe Anna, biography of, reviewed *48* 71
Thornton, Mary Lindsay, compiles *Bibliography of North Carolina,* noticed *48* 141
Thurnam, Dr. *48* 22
Thurston, Thomas, article on, noticed *47* 122
Thurston, William *48* 39
Tillison, James *48* 84
Ting, Simon, research in progress on Rufus M. Jones and Lao Tzu *46* 47
Tithes, article on Friends and, noticed *50* 128
Todd, Camp, Va., sketch of school at, 1865, frontis. *46* No. 2
Todhunter, Joshua E., letters on American Civil War *47* 20-29
Toleration, religious, in Georgia *46* 10-11; Act of, 1689 *48* 6
Tolles, Frederick B., edits two Quaker memorials for Abraham Lincoln *46* 40-45; *James Logan and the Culture of Provincial America,* reviewed *46* 53-54; brief study of James Logan, noticed *46* 57; article on James Logan as scientist, noticed *46* 57; study of John Dickinson and Friends, noticed *46* 58; *Quakerism and Politics,* noticed *46* 60; article on manuscripts of John Whiting, noticed *46* 64; edits *The Witness of William Penn,* reviewed *46* 120-121; article on culture of early Pennsylvania, noticed *46* 125; article on correspondence of John Comly and Isaac Hicks, noticed *46* 127; with Anna B. Hewitt,

compiles list of dissertations on Quaker history *47* 45-48; article on Friends and loyalty oaths, noticed *47* 62; article on William Penn, noticed *47* 62-63; reviews *The Travels of William Bartram: Naturalist's Edition,* ed. by Harper *47* 111-112; reviews *The Recovery of the Anabaptist Vision,* ed. by Hershberger *47* 116; article on John Woolman and Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1758, noticed *47* 122; research in progress on Elizabeth Webb *48* 64; article on William Logan, noticed *48* 137; reviews *David Lloyd,* by Lokken *49* 52-53; article on New-Light Quakers of Mass., noticed *49* 59; *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture,* reviewed *49* 120-121; article on Quaker esthetic, noticed *49* 124; "The Primitive Painter as Poet" *50* 12-30; guide to location of American meeting records, noticed *50* 125

TOMLINSON, Reuben *46* 76

Tomorrow Will be Bright, by Mabel Leigh Hunt, noticed *47* 119

TOMS, DeElla Victoria, dissertation on Francis Daniel Pastorius, noticed *47* 48

TONJOROFF, Elizabeth Bevan, article on, noticed *50* 63

TOOMBS, Robert Augustus *48* 34, 34*n*

TORJESEN, Elizabeth Fraser, article on Maria Mitchell, noticed *48* 141

Toward Security Through Disarmament *48* 18

TOWN Bank Grammar School, article on, noticed *48* 77

TOWNE, Laura *46* 73

TOWNSEND, Ann A. *46* 41

TOWNSEND, Edward *46* 41

TOWNSEND, Fanny *48* 48

TOWNSEND, Hannah. *See* Mott, Hannah Townsend

TOWNSEND, Roscoe B., research in progress on evangelism in Quakerism *50* 54

TOWNSEND family, Vt. *50* 72

Trail of the Black Walnut, by G. Elmore Reaman, reviewed *49* 53-54

Travels of William Bartram: Naturalist's Edition, ed. by Francis Harper, reviewed *47* 111-112

TRÉBOR, Haynes, *The Flushing Remonstrance,* noticed *46* 125

TREVOR-ROPER, H. R., article on Friends, noticed *47* 119

TRINITY, article on G. Fox's belief in, noticed *49* 128

TRITTON, Frederick J., studies of Kingston-upon-Thames Meeting, noticed *46* 58, 62

TRUEBLOOD, Carolyn Hobbs *49* 35

TRUEBLOOD, D. Elton, research in progress on *46* 115

TRUEBLOOD, Thomas Clarkson *49* 34

TRUEBLOOD family, research in progress on *50* 54

TRUMAN, George *46* 43

TRUTH, Sojourner. *See* Sojourner Truth

TUCK, Amos *48* 34

TUCKAHOE Meetinghouse, Md. *47* 6

TUCKAHOE Neck Meeting, Md. *47* 19*n*, *48* 83-102 passim

TUCKER, Benjamin Ricketson *49* 47

TUNESASSA, N. Y. *48* 118

TURKEY *48* 4

Turncoats, Traitors and Heroes, by John Bakeless, noticed *50* 124

TURNER, Isaac *48* 86

TURNER, Richard *48* 100

TURNER, Robert, of Ireland *50* 122

TUTHILL, Mrs. L. C. *50* 34

TWELFTH Street Meeting, Philadelphia *46* 4, 5, *49* 7

TWENTIETH Street Meeting, N. Y. City, article on, noticed *49* 127

TWINING, Stephen *48* 122

Two Early Political Associations: The Quakers and the Dissenting Deputies in the Age of Sir Robert Walpole, by N. C. Hunt, reviewed *50* 115-116

Two Trends in Modern Quaker Thought: A Statement of Belief, by Albert Fowler, reviewed *50* 120

TWO-WEEKS Meeting, London, article on, noticed *46* 63

TYLOR, Charles *49* 32

TYLOR, Edward *48* 99

TYLOR, Wilson *47* 19

TYSON, Isaac *48* 36

TYSON, Jesse *48* 36

U

UKAJI, Kiyoshi, edits *The History of Seventy Years of the Society of Friends in Japan,* reviewed *47* 108-109

ULHERR, Hans, study of plain language, noticed *46* 126

ULLMANN, Richard K., article on "Truth" among early Friends, noticed *46* 63; *Between God and History,* reviewed *49* 51-52

UNDERGROUND Railroad *47* 95; in Allen's Corner, Can. *50* 79

UNDERHILL, Mary *48* 32, 33

UNDERHILL, Phebe *48* 56

UNDERHILL, Walter *48* 31, 31*n*, 32, 33
UNDERWOOD, F. H. *50* 33
UNDERWOOD family, Ia. *50* 104
UNESCO *48* 17
UNION Springs Meeting, N. Y. *47* 101
UNITARIANS, article on Whittier and *49* 111-116
UPDEGRAFF, David *48* 55, 55*n*, 56
UPDEGRAFF, David B. *50* 105, 107, 108
UPDEGRAFF, Rebecca Taylor *48* 55*n*, 56, 57, *50* 106
UPHAM, William *48* 35, 35*n*
UPPER Greenwich Meeting, N. J., article on, noticed *46* 122

V

VACCINATION for smallpox *49* 109*n*
VALENTINE, George, of Ohio, letters of, noticed *49* 60
VALLEY Forge, Pa. *47* 121
VANN, Richard T., research in progress on social background of Friends, 1660-1740 *46* 115; article on Gerrard Winstanley and Friends, noticed *50* 63
VARNEY, Moses *48* 127
VENDETTUOLI, James A., Jr., research in progress on John Jackson *47* 49
VENEZUELA *48* 12
VERMILION Grove, Ill., research in progress on Quaker school in *50* 53
VERMILION Quarterly Meeting, Ill. *49* 35
VERMONT, Ferrisburg Quarterly Meeting *47* 103-104; Friends migrate to Canada *50* 72-74
VERMONT Quarterly Meeting *50* 77
VERNON, Amos *46* 21
VERNON, Anne, *A Quaker Business Man: The Life of Joseph Rowntree,* reviewed *48* 136-137
VERNON, Isaac *46* 20, 21
VERONA, Congress of *48* 10
VILLIERS, George, 2nd duke of Buckingham, article on Friends and, noticed *47* 63
VINING, Elizabeth Gray, reviews *William Penn: A Biography,* by Peare *46* 51-53; *Friend of Life: The Biography of Rufus M. Jones,* reviewed *48* 71-74; *Rufus Jones and the Far East,* noticed *48* 76
VIPONT, Elfrida. *See* Foulds, Elfrida Vipont
VIRGINIA, article on Cedar Creek Meetinghouse, noticed *46* 122; account of Fairfax Meeting, noticed *49* 127

W

WADKIN, Candia. *See* Cadbury, Candia Wadkin
WAGGONER, Hyatt H., article on Whittier, noticed *49* 56
WAHL, Albert J., dissertation on Progressive Friends, noticed *47* 48; article on Pennsylvania Yearly Meeting of Progressive Friends, noticed *47* 119
WAINWRIGHT, Nicholas B., article on Gwynedd Hall, Pa., noticed *47* 120; edits diary of Sarah Fisher, 1776-1778, noticed *48* 78
WALDEN, Robert *46* 21
WALES, research in progress on Quakerism in *48* 132, *49* 117; article on Welsh Quaker migration to Pennsylvania, noticed *48* 140; article on Dolobran Meetinghouse, noticed *48* 143
WALES Yearly Meeting, article on, noticed *46* 64
WALKER, Frederick, article on early Friends, noticed *49* 60
WALKER, Harold *49* 128
WALKER, Susan, account of Fairfax Meeting, Va., noticed *49* 127
WALKER, Thomas *48* 96
WALKER, William *46* 15
WALLACE, Henry A., study of James Logan's and William J. Beal's experiments with corn, noticed *46* 123
WALLACE, Willard M., life of William Penn, noticed *48* 138
WALLER, Richard *50* 49, 50, 51
WALLIS, Amy E., research in progress on portraits of William and Hannah Penn *46* 47; research in progress on Anthony Pearson *46* 47; article on Darlington, Eng., noticed *47* 64; article on Anthony Pearson, noticed *47* 123
WALLIS, Samuel *50* 124
WALNUT Ridge Meeting, Ind. *50* 106
WALTON, Anna *47* 41
WALTON, Francis *47* 41
WALTON, Jesse M. *47* 105
WALTON, Samuel *47* 41
WAR, causes of *48* 12; World war, 1914-1918 *48* 15; George Washington and *49* 67-68
War Comes to Quaker Pennsylvania, 1682-1756, by Robert L. D. Davidson, reviewed *47* 113-115
WARD, Rachel *46* 43
WARD, Samuel, letters of Nathanael Greene to, noticed *46* 58
WARDER, Jeremiah *47* 61

WARDER family, Ohio, history of, noticed *47* 61
WARING, Sarah. *See* Alsop, Sarah
WARNER, Roger H. M., article on Burford Meeting, noticed *47* 123
WARNER, Stafford Allen, *Yardley Warner, the Freedman's Friend,* reviewed *47* 54
WARNER, Yardley, biography of, by Warner, reviewed *47* 54
WARREN, William *47* 4
WARRIOR, Seneca chief *48* 118
WASHBURN, Margaret Floy *49* 47
WASHINGTON, George *48* 118, *49* 89-90, *50* 22; and Friends *49* 67-83, article on, noticed *50* 61; on war *49* 67-68; and slavery *49* 68, 78-79; his father and John Fothergill *49* 69; and Indians *49* 79-80; and George Logan *49* 81-82; death of *49* 82; Edward Hicks on *50* 28-29
WASHINGTON, Lawrence *49* 69
WATERHOUSE, Benjamin, study of, noticed *47* 120
WATKINS, Morgan *49* 39, 40, 42
WATSON, Bula Trueblood, research in progress on Trueblood family *50* 54; research in progress on Whittier's hymns *50* 54
WATSON, Jacob *46* 21
WATSON, John *46* 21
WATSON, Thomas *46* 21
WAX, Darold Duane, research in progress on slave trade in Pa. *50* 54
WAY, Eliza E. *46* 74
WAYNE, William *47* 69
WAYSBLUM, Marek, article on Thomas Hutson, noticed *50* 64
WEAVER, John *47* 102*n*
WEBB, Elizabeth, research in progress on *48* 64
WEBSTER, Daniel *48* 32, 34
WEEKS, Lewis E., Jr., edits letters of Whittier, noticed *49* 56
WEEKS, Refine *50* 16, 16*n*
WEEKS, Stephen B. *46* 17
WELCH, John *46* 21
Welcome, ship, article on, noticed *48* 75
WELSH, Peter C., article on Brandywine Mills, Del., noticed *46* 56
Welsh Saints, 1640-1660, by Geoffrey F. Nuttall, reviewed *47* 53
WELSH settlers in Pa., article on, noticed *50* 62
WENDELL, Ann *50* 38
WEST, Francis D., articles on John Bartram, noticed *46* 60, 122; "John Bartram: Geologist" *47* 35-38; article on William Bartram (d. ca. 1711), noticed *47* 57
WEST Branch, Ia. *50* 104; revival at *50* 108-109
WEST Branch Quarterly Meeting, Ohio, history of, noticed *47* 60
WEST Chester, Pa. *49* 5
WEST Devon Meeting, Eng., research in progress on *50* 53
WEST Indies, British *48* 21
WEST River Quaker Burial Ground, Md., article on, noticed *50* 125
WESTERN Manual Labor Institute, Ind. *See* Bloomingdale Academy
WESTERN Yearly Meeting *49* 27, 31, 33; Centennial of *47* 107; article on, noticed *48* 139
WESTMINSTER, Eng., article on Friends in, noticed *46* 62
WESTTOWN School, Pa. *49* 9
WETHERALD, Thomas *50* 23, 29
WETHERILL, Samuel, study of his white lead business, noticed *46* 124
WHARTON, Deborah F. *46* 43
WHEAT, William *46* 21
WHEATLEY, Robert C., research in progress on theology of Geo. Fox *46* 47
WHEELER, Daniel *48* 10
WHICHER, Stephen E., edits early lectures of R. W. Emerson, noticed *49* 61
WHIGHAM, Thomas *46* 21
WHISKEY Rebellion, 1794 *49* 86
WHITE, Elizabeth *48* 38, 58
WHITE, George *46* 18
WHITE, Hannah. *See* Richardson, Hannah
WHITE, John J. *46* 43
WHITE, Josiah *48* 31*n*, 36, 37, 38, 58, 59
WHITE, Julia *49* 14
WHITE, Rebecca *48* 38
WHITE family, Vt. *50* 73
WHITE Horse, Indian *47* 88
WHITEFIELD, George, article on, noticed *46* 63
WHITEHEAD, George *47* 123
WHITEHEAD, John *47* 123
WHITEHILL, Walter Muir *47* 60
WHITEWATER Meeting, Ill. *49* 63
WHITEWATER Meeting, Ind. *48* 93; history of, noticed *49* 58
WHITEWELL, Edward. *See* Whitwell, Edward
WHITING, Evelyn S., article on Wales Yearly Meeting, noticed *46* 64; research in progress on Quakerism in Wales *48* 132; article on Welsh settlers in Pa., noticed *50* 62
WHITING, J. Roland, *Ernest E. Taylor: Valiant for Truth,* reviewed *47* 109-110

WHITING, John, article on manuscripts of, noticed *46* 64
WHITSETT, John *46* 21
WHITSETT, John, Jr. *46* 22
WHITTEN, James M., research in progress on Rufus M. Jones *49* 117
WHITTIER, John Greenleaf *47* 57, *50* 12, 107; articles on, noticed *46* 57, 125-126; *47* 57, 62, 63, 119, 122, *48* 77, 78, 79, 139, 140, *49* 56, *50* 121; letters of, noticed *46* 58, *49* 56; account of visit to, in 1881 *46* 108-110; dissertations on *47* 47; letter of, to Emerson, noticed *47* 47; research in progress on *47* 49, *48* 131; and Dante, article on, noticed *47* 120; poem on, noticed *47* 120; article on books owned by, noticed *47* 121; correspondence with Henry Hartshorne *49* 111-116; orthodoxy questioned *49* 111-116; on creeds *49* 115; research in progress on letters of *49* 117; article on his ballads, noticed *49* 126; article on his quest for humility *50* 31-45; on Quakerism *50* 35-36; research in progress on hymns of *50* 54; poem on "Chinese" Gordon, noticed *50* 127
"WHITTIER and the Unitarians," by Edward D. Snyder *49* 111-116
WHITTIER, Cal., Institute of International Relations, research in progress on *50* 53
WHITTIER Hotel, Philadelphia *46* 9
Whittier-Land, by Samuel T. Pickard, noticed *47* 60
"WHITTIER'S Quest for Humility," by John J. McAleer *50* 31-45
WHITWELL, Edward *50* 50
WICKERSHAM, Thomas *48* 87
WIGHAM, John *47* 11
WILBERFORCE, William *50* 14, 14*n*, 18, 22, 29
WILBUR, Hiram *47* 102
WILBUR, John *48* 54, 54*n*, *49* 8*n*, 31
WILBUR, William *47* 102
WILBUR family, Vt. *50* 73
WILBURITE Friends *49* 3-4, 6-11
WILBURITE-GURNEYITE conflict, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Arch St.) *49* 6-11, 19-20; in Farnham Meeting, Can. *50* 77
WILDMAN, Edward E. *46* 60
WILDMAN, Mrs. Franklin B., article on Wood family, noticed *47* 121
WILKINSON, Jemima, article on, noticed *47* 59; research in progress on *50* 53, 54
WILKINSON, Norman B., article on Gilpin family of Del., noticed *47* 57-58; compiles *Bibliography of Pennsylvania History,* reviewed *47* 115-116; article on Thomas and Joshua Gilpin, noticed *49* 62
WILKINSON, Thomas *48* 79; research in progress on *46* 115
WILKINSON-STORY controversy *50* 84
WILLAN, Thomas *50* 49
WILLARD family, Vt. *50* 72
WILLETS, Amos *50* 9, 10*n*
WILLIAM Penn College *48* 79
WILLIAMS, Roger *46* 57; article on Friends and, noticed *49* 57; research in progress on *50* 52
WILLIS, Charles H. *48* 100
WILLIS, Elizabeth *48* 30, 30*n*, 38
WILLIS, Henry *46* 123
WILLIS, Peter *48* 97*n*
WILLIS, William Penn *48* 100-101
WILLS, Quaker *50* 46
WILLSON, David, article on, noticed *48* 139
WILSON, Elisha *47* 19
WILSON, Jacob C. *48* 94
WILSON, James *48* 90
WILSON, Josiah *46* 73
WILSON, Martha, article on Whittier, noticed *47* 63
WILSON, Rachel, article on, noticed *46* 63
WILSON, Samuel *46* 22
WILSON, William *50* 49, 50
WILSON family *48* 144
WINN, Annabella E. *50* 104
WINNER, Julia Hull, research in progress on Friends in Niagara Co., N. Y. *48* 64
WINSLETE, Samuel *46* 22
WINSLOW, Matthew *48* 49
WINSLOW, Seth *48* 49
WINSLOW, Thomas *48* 49
WINSLOW, Mrs. Watson, article on Friends in N. C., noticed *48* 142
WINSTANLEY, Gerrard, article on Friends and, noticed *50* 63
WISBEY, Herbert A., Jr., article on Jemima Wilkinson, noticed *47* 59; research in progress on Jemima Wilkinson *50* 54
WISTAR, Caspar, research in progress on *49* 117
Witness of William Penn, ed. Frederick B. Tolles and E. Gordon Alderfer, reviewed *46* 120-121
WITTE, William D. S., "American Quaker Pacifism and the Peace Settlement of World War I" *46* 84-98; dis-

sertation on Quaker pacifism, 1919-1942, noticed *47* 48
WIXOM, Caleb *47* 101
WOLF, Edwin, 2nd, article on James Logan's books, noticed *46* 59-60
WOLFENDEN, James W., research in progress on English Nonconformity, 1880-1906 *48* 132
WOLVERHAMPTON Meeting, history of, noticed *47* 123
WOMEN, article on emancipation of, noticed *48* 75; study of Quakerism in fiction and poetry written by, noticed *49* 57; article on souls of, noticed *49* 63
WOMEN Friends of London, article on, noticed *46* 63
WOMEN'S Association of Philadelphia for the Relief of the Freedmen *46* 68-69, 70, 71
WOOD, Carolena *49* 16
WOOD, Daniel *48* 56
WOOD, James *47* 121
WOOD, John Elliott, article on George Fox, noticed *48* 142
WOOD, Joel *48* 57
WOOD, Mary S. *49* 27
WOOD family, Pa., article on, noticed *47* 121
WOODARD, Luke *50* 107
WOODARD, Sally. *See* Knowles, Sally
Woodhouse, ship *49* 60
WOODMAN, Charles *49* 12
WOODWARD, Levi *47* 92
WOODWARD, Walter *49* 12
WOODWELL, R. H., edits letter from Whittier to Emerson, noticed *47* 57-58
WOODY, Mary *49* 14
WOOLMAN, John *47* 6, *49* 98, *50* 19, 22, 28, 29; article on Theodore Dreiser and, noticed *47* 118; and Philadelphia Yearly Meeting, 1758, article on, noticed *47* 122; letter of, noticed *47* 123; articles on, noticed *48* 79, *49* 126, 127; his reading of the mystics *48* 103-115; article on his *Journal,* noticed *49* 59; and Mount Holly schoolhouse *50* 46-47
WOOLMAN, Samuel *48* 115
WORDSWORTH, William *48* 79; article on, noticed *46* 126; article on Quaker servant of, noticed *50* 63
WORLD Council of Churches, article on Quakerism and, noticed *50* 121
WORSDELL, Edward *50* 64
WORTH, Herbert *49* 5
WRANGEL, C. M. *46* 122
WRIGHT, Ashur *48* 126-127
WRIGHT, Charles *48* 57
WRIGHT, Daniel *48* 89
WRIGHT, Hatfield *48* 91
WRIGHT, Henry C. visits John Bright *49* 43-46
WRIGHT, James, Gov. of Georgia *46* 12, 22
WRIGHT, John *48* 91
WRIGHT, Laura *48* 126-127
WRIGHT, Levin *47* 13
WRIGHT, Martha A. *46* 74
WRIGHT, Mary *48* 85
WRIGHT, Nathan *48* 85
WRIGHT, Parvin *48* 57, *49* 43
WRIGHT, Patience *50* 128
WRIGHT, Rebecca, research in progress on *48* 131
WRIGHT, Susanna, article on, noticed *49* 62
"WRIGHTSBOROUGH Quaker Town and Township in Georgia," by Alex M. Hitz *46* 10-22
WRIGHTSBOROUGH, Ga., grants in *46* 18-22

Y

Yardley Warner, the Freedman's Friend, by Stafford Allen Warner, reviewed *47* 54
YARNALL, William S. *46* 4
YAUKEY, Grace S., research in progress on Friends in America *48* 64
YEAMAN, Isabel *50* 48
YELLOW fever in Philadelphia *49* 84, 85, 90-91
YEO, Samuel *48* 100
YODER, Don, article on Quaker influence on Mennonites, noticed *46* 58; article on Friends and Christmas, noticed *48* 75; reviews *The Trail of the Black Walnut,* by Reaman *49* 53-54
YONGE Street Meeting, Can. *47* 105
YOUNG, John *46* 11, 12
YOUNG, Thomas *46* 22
YOUNG Friends, Philadelphia Yearly Meeting (Arch St.) *49* 11

Z

ZIELINSKI, Stanley A., research in progress on Farnham Meeting, Can. *48* 64; "Story of Farnham Meeting" *50* 67-81
ZIMMERMAN, John J., article on Charles Thomson, noticed *48* 141; article on Benjamin Franklin and the Quaker Party, 1755-1756, noticed *50* 124
ZOOK, Elhanon *49* 9
ZORN, Roman J., article on New England Antislavery Society, noticed *47* 56